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White America

THE AMERICAN RACIAL PROBLEM
AS SEEN IN A
WORLDWIDE PERSPECTIVE

EARNEST
SEVIER COX

CLASSICS SERIES

WHITE AMERICA

Earnest Sevier Cox

CLASSICS SERIES

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WHITE AMERICA

Editor's Introduction

Prophecy is always a dangerous game for the prophet, particularly if he turns out to be right. This is because at any time in history an accurate prediction of the future sounds "extreme" and not at all fitted to the ignorant prejudices of the mob. There is no mystery as to why this is so: it must be so because the most cherished notions of the mob are of course the ones which have been most carefully implanted by the ruling and vested interests of the day, whether those interests be a class of venal, doomed priests, a corrupt monarchy, an effete and dying aristocracy or the paid press agents of international bankers and their liberal and Left-wing confederates.

And if he is not right, even if lionized in his lifetime, the prophet will look a fool to history, if he is remembered at all.

Those rare individuals who prove to be right must, therefore, be prepared to sacrifice the esteem of most of their contemporaries and to be the constant butt of ridicule and abuse. This is not to say that there will be no one to recognize their greatness during their lifetimes, for there will always be a small number of advanced thinkers who are able to free their minds and, indeed, their souls from the all-pervading prejudices of the day in order to have a clearer vision of the truth and the prophet's relationship to it.

Such a man and prophet was Earnest Sevier Cox, author of this book, whose life was an inspiring monument to self-sacrifice and dedication and whose work ranks with the most important and significant ever produced by any American.

* * *

Born on January 24, 1880, near Knoxville, Tennessee, the last of a family of eight children, Earnest Sevier Cox bore the family names of his forebearers from three different parts of North Europe. Earnest (Ernst originally) was the surname of a German boy indentured in Virginia whose

parents had died on the perilous journey to America. Sevier (Xavier originally) was the name of a French Huguenot family of Revolutionary War fame. Cox, of course, was English.

His father died when he was 12. Young Earnest's family was not poor but not rich—a "typical" family of the time—hardworking, respectable, independent, God-fearing. The kind of family which literally created and built a new world out of a savage land.

Earnest grew up on the same soil which produced Andrew Johnson, Admiral Farragut, Sam Houston, Davy Crockett and Sergeant York. That soil was destined to be a border state between North and South during this Nation's greatest tragedy, the Civil War. His family, like so many in the border states, had members on both sides. Brothers and cousins arrayed themselves against each other, seeking to kill each other for the sake of the uncomprehending black man.

It is significant that Earnest Sevier Cox came from a border state, for there is no section of our land which is more likely to produce persons better qualified to comprehend the nature of America's greatest problem—the race problem. Populated by proud Anglo-Saxon and Celt early in our history, its people are truly American, yet aware of their European heritage. Neither North nor South, but both; neither Democrat nor Republican, but both; poor in material wealth but rich in self-respect and independence; neither ignorant of nor obsessed with the race problem, but aware of it; neither isolated from nor swamped by it—these are the characteristics of the people of the region from whence came this man—characteristics which qualify him to speak on this problem above one from any other section of the Nation.

It is this background, which shows through again and again in his work, which qualifies Cox with the basic requirements to be a genuine authority on this emotional issue. It is this background which has enabled him to see the race problem more clearly than either a southerner or a northerner, a pauper or a prince.

At the age of 20 Earnest Cox went to work for a small

finance company in Shreveport and for the first time was thrown into contact with Negroes. As an old "loan man" myself, I testify that the requirements of a successful loan business include an active curiosity into the private life of your customers, and this, in turn, results in a unique insight into race differences. It may well have been this job—his first—which ignited the spark which set Earnest Cox off on the search after racial truth, driving him around the world and finally into a life of self-denial and dedication.

In 1901 Cox went to work for the Anadarko (Oklahoma) *Record* as a newspaper reporter. Anadarko was a small town located in the heart of the Comanche, Caddo and Apache Indian country.

About this time, having been raised in a strict Christian home, as all children were then, Cox experienced a desire for the ministry. He attended the Moody Bible Institute and, after the death of his mother, went on to Vanderbilt University and the University of Chicago.

During this time the press was off on one of its crusades and was full of accounts telling of the "Belgian atrocities" in the Congo. An instructor at Chicago, however, Dr. Frederick Starr, had just visited Africa and had not seen any atrocities. He was roundly criticized by church people for his unwillingness to accuse the White Belgians of inhumanity, wickedness, sin, etc. (Does all this sound weirdly familiar to you after recent events in the Congo, Rhodesia and even our own South?)

As Cox tells of it in his book, *Black Belt Around the World:*

> This controversy led me to a desire to know the African Negroes and to compare them with their American kin. To compare the Negro policies of the European nations governing Africa with the Negro policy which had developed in the United States.

When Earnest Cox made up his mind, he was not easily dissuaded. Finally, on February 2, 1910, having been unable to secure financial backing for his proposed study, he embarked on the ship, *Umbria,* for England. His third class ticket cost $30.

From England he went on to Cape Town on a British

steamer. Immediately, he went to work deep in the diamond mines, for it was his aim to observe Negro-White contact at close range. In so doing, Cox acquired valuable experience not only as a common laborer but as a practical observer of men of all kinds and races. As his callouses hardened, his wisdom grew.

This experience implanted in him a deep personal concern for the welfare of the White laborer. Throughout his works, there runs the theme of justice for the working man. He developed a close spiritual relationship with the miners and this never left him.

It was a rough go at that time in Africa, which Cox dubs, "the high noon of colonialism." There was not only the struggle between European nations for colonies, and one between the White man and the savage, half-urbanized native but one equally deadly with lions and other animals; and tropical diseases against all.

With many adventures, Cox trekked up the east coast of Africa through the British colony of Rhodesia, German East Africa, British East Africa, Uganda, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Egypt, where he finally arrived, desperately ill with malaria, in January, 1912.

After a short stay, and mostly recovered from fever, he left again for South Africa, this time by boat. He went to work in the gold mines around Durban.

The following year he left for New Zealand and Australia; from thence to Java, Singapore, Hong Kong, Manila and on to San Francisco, arriving in early 1914.

His journey not yet over, he travelled to Havana, Panama, Ecuador, Peru, Brazil and the Barbados, finally arriving back in Knoxville in late 1915, suffering again with malaria and recurrent attacks of fever and chills.

Earnest Cox came home from his long journey to a Nation arming for another fratricidal war. He went overseas as a captain in the Field Artillery and was on the western front on Armistice Day. A year afterwards, he returned to the United States with the rank of major and joined the reserves. Though he was later increased in rank to lieutenant colonel, to his old friends he would be known as "Major" for the rest of his life.

After his return to civilian life, Cox brought out the

first edition of *White America* in 1923. It was republished in 1925 and, finally, in 1937. The edition reprinted here is the 1937 edition, complete except for a portion of the final chapter and two appendices.

Copies of all editions are extremely hard to come by and expensive when found. Until publication in this NOONTIDE PRESS Classics Series the book was readily available only from University Microfilms, of Ann Arbor, Michigan, for $15 per copy.

White America, though his first and best-known work, is certainly not his only one. He also wrote and published *Let My People Go,* in 1925. This small, 34-page pamphlet was "A message from white men who wish to keep the white race white, to black men who wish to keep the black race black, including the terms of an alliance between these groups against the whites who wish to mix with the Negroes and the Negroes who wish to mix with the whites." This had three editions and over 25,000 copies were widely distributed to both races.

The following year he published *The South's Part in Mongrelizing the Nation,* which was a 100-page booklet dedicated "To those southerners who wish cheap Negro labor and White labor made cheap by competition with Negro labor." It was not only an indictment of the hypocrisy and greed which prevented the South from solving the Negro problem but, as always, an exhortation to men of good will of both races to join in a program to give the Negro the independence and self-respect that Cox felt was rightfully his as a human being.

This was followed by a 36-page pamphlet, *Lincoln's Negro Policy,* which laid out the facts concerning the Great Emancipator's plans to repatriate Negroes to Africa. This, incidentally, was the title of a full-size book on which Cox was working at the time of his death.

In *Three Million Negroes Thank the State of Virginia,* published in 1940, Cox reprinted a number of letters from various black nationalist leaders representing the Universal Negro Improvement Association, the Peace Movement of Ethiopia, the National Union for People of African Descent and others.

In 1955 he wrote and published *Unending Hate,* a 47-

page booklet dealing with the queer historical phenomenon of hatred which Whites who know less about race contact with Negroes always bear against Whites who know the most about it. There was a "Foreword to American Negroes" and, again, the positive alternative to race strife—Repatriation—was offered as the solution.

Cox's second full-size book was *Teutonic Unity,* published in 1951, which is a historical study of the White race. THE NOONTIDE PRESS plans to reprint this in early 1967, with a Foreword by the noted author and lecturer, Richard Kelly Hoskins.

Cox's final book, *Black Belt Around the World* (1963), tells of his personal adventures in detail, spiced with much historical and geographical information.

Earnest Sevier Cox became a legend on April 26, 1966, when he died in Richmond. He was buried at Arlington National Cemetery on April 28, his body being borne to the grave on a cassion pulled by six horses following a military band.

The life of this man is an example of self-sacrifice and high idealism which sets him star-height above his contemporaries. While others sought transitory fame and a crooked smile from those who make "public opinion," Earnest Cox worked silently and without praise in his attic room, those bright eyes of his fixed unwaveringly on the future which he alone could see. While others applied their talents to the making of a comfortable and easy life for themselves, Earnest Cox steeled himself to endure privation so that the force of his ideas could influence the world. And while others hypocritically gave lip-service to lies and tawdry intellectual sophistries, Earnest Sevier Cox told the truth.

His life serves as an inspiration and a model to honorable men of all races. It showed a direction and dedication that is, in itself, the mark of a great man. In death his example and his memory will have immortality and posterity will give him a rightful recognition which will, in comparison to the puffed-up heroes of the "free press" of our age, reduce these pipsqueak non-entities to the malicious and insignificant creatures which they are.

White America has stood the test of time marvelously well, and many parts of it seem almost uncanny in accurate projection. At times, Cox went wrong; but in most of these instances he went wrong only by failing to make allowance for the almost infinite capacity of men to ignore truth and history and to subject themselves to the failures and errors of their fathers. On page 13, for example, he says,

> It is safe to prophesy that there will be no further serious—certainly not armed—conflicts between the White groups over the colored races; for the perilous position of the races today and tomorrow will compel that race to seek race unity, rather than division, which can only weaken the White man and artificially elevate the colored.

In the aftermath of the second great fratricidal war of 1939–1945 which was fought solely for the benefit of two non-Western and largely colored powers—the Soviet Union and Israel—such a statement seems tragically naive.

The same can be said for his belief (page 119) that the British had been taught by experience that segregation was the chief factor perpetuating British civilization. Since the end of the war, British politicians, in successive criminal acts against their own race and country of a magnitude greater than anything ever dealt by any other nation, have deliberately created an explosive race, crime, dope, housing and labor problem in England itself where there was none before; with over 500,000 Negroes and other coloreds having been brought in as immigrants.

A point easy to misunderstand is Cox's flat assertion that all civilization has always been created by Caucasians. This is certainly no derogation of peoples such as the Japanese, for example. Students of history must realize that most of the colored races today are mixbreed. Cox says, on page 39, "We cannot grasp the essentials of the color problem without having first appreciated the influence of Caucasian blood in mixbreed races of the world." Until our archaeologists and anthropologists have unravelled the profound secrets of the hidden past, we cannot prove Cox wrong. The evidence which we have is on his side.

There are other minor inaccuracies to be found (such as, for example, his belief that South Africa would not survive)

but they pale into insignificance alongside the numerous observations and predictions which illumine today. It is for the reader to pick the diamonds of wisdom that Cox has scattered throughout the pages, and, indeed, to mine it again and again for more.

* * *

White America rates as a "controversial" book among that company of eminent scholars and well-paid journalists who see our national and cultural decline as "progress." One of them, a certain I. A. Newby, paid unintentional tribute to Cox in his book, *Jim Crow's Defense* (Louisiana State University Press, 1965). The book, a review of racial theorists and thinkers in the United States 1900–30, has this to say of Cox (who, by the way, Newby contemptuously describes as a "nativist," which gives a clue to his own bias) on page 61 in a passage which, though mostly accurate, contains obvious errors, such as his misspelling "Earnest" as "Ernest," and referring to Cox as "Southern" and "a Virginian."

> Cox, a Virginian, was perhaps the most important race theorist residing in the South between World War I and II. His chief work, *White America*, was the most authoritative statement of intellectual-historical racism written by a Southerner. In 1937 an anonymous 'private citizen' who desired to 'promote the cause of "Repatriation",' privately reprinted *White America* and distributed free copies to members of Congress and to legislators of certain states. Unlike most Southern theorists, Cox actively sought to influence the nation's race policies. Besides authoring such polemics as *White America* and *The South's Part in Mongrelizing the Nation* (1926), he organized Anglo-Saxon Clubs which were dedicated to the superiority of old American stocks, lobbied for enactment of the state anti-miscegenation and race registration law in Virginia in 1924, led a movement after World War I to deport American Negroes to Africa, supported the black nationalism of Marcus Garvey, wielded a direct influence upon demagogues such as Theodore Bilbo, and lectured widely throughout the South. Eventually, he came to be rather well known among Southerners, although his influence never approached Madison Grant or Lothrop Stoddard.

The basic theme of *White America* is two-fold. First, that the racial destruction of the White race is inescapable in time whenever there is the substantial presence of another race; and, second, that civilization itself cannot survive that destruction.

The theme is undergirded with objective facts and history. Our situation today is directly comparable to the historical situation of the White race in the past when it has been confronted by this—the greatest of all politico-social-economic problems.

The theme, then, if valid, clearly presents to man—specifically the White race—the greatest problem he has ever faced. This is true because it is a problem over which he has complete control, and one in which the alternatives are clearly and unmistakably known; and it is this that makes this problem unique among all other problems which have confronted our race in the past.

The choice that is being held to us is nothing less than between the continuation of our present human level (not to mention the possibility of further evolution) or devolution and retrogression.

It is a choice which irresistibly commands the attention of every man of whatever race who dares to call himself moral and responsible. The companion fact that these things are dangerous to affirm in a world which has had its moorings to truth gnawed asunder, and which is almost totally controlled by the forces of organized decay and culture distortion, makes it all the more urgently inescapable.

The first portion of the theme has been expressed by many notable personalities. It was stated most vividly, perhaps, by Madison Grant in his classic, *The Passing of the Great Race,* in a sentence of starkness:

> If the purity of the two races is to be maintained, they cannot continue to live side by side, and this is a problem from which there can be no escape.

Alexis De Tocqueville said it this way:

> There are two alternatives for the future: the Negroes and the whites must either wholly part or wholly mingle.

And Thomas Jefferson said, in a famous passage which

has been criminally misquoted everywhere—even on the Jefferson Memorial, in Washington:

> Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government.

Although the truth is always "extreme," Earnest Sevier Cox cannot possibly be called an extremist. His presentation is bounded on all sides by reasonableness and humanity. For example, knowing history so well, and seeing the story of race written over millennia and in all parts of the world, Cox does not attempt to mislead either himself nor his readers by blaming it all on "the communists." The same thing that is happening today in America has happened in India over the last three thousand years; in Iran, Ethiopia, Egypt and, more recently, Portugal, Brazil, Puerto Rico, Cuba and many other places. The story of race contact is the theme of this book and communism, which is only the most venomous form of universalism, only expedites the natural trend which always sets in with race contact.

Cox also makes some refreshing statements about capitalism in *White America.* I for one am weary of being told that capitalism is an unalloyed joy, faultless in its proportions. Cox rightly recognizes that "the socialism of Germany (in 1925) is as reprehensible as the capitalism of the British colonies and the United States in effecting a reduction of Caucasian to the economic status of the Negro." Cox responsibly places facts of genes *above* theories of economics and this, while it may appear "radical" to some, is hardly so.

His lack of extremism continues with his other racial views. Cox's attitude toward both slavery and segregation is highly negative. The Negro is neither a "thing" nor a superior being, and to deny him the right to develop according to natural law is unjust. However, to expect him to develop as a Caucasian is, he says, "a species of sentimental insanity." Although his opposition to slavery is based largely on moral grounds, he is intensely aware of the fact that any race contact brings with it inevitable

mongrelization. This is why he opposes segregation, which he sees as a fantasy which can at best only momentarily (within the time-scale of centuries) retard the fatal process.

Of all people, Cox is the last who could be accused of harboring race hatred. Hatred is caused by misunderstanding. Most of us can hate only that which we do not understand, for with understanding normally comes tolerance and compassion. The "faults" of any man are not, in the last analysis, really his fault, even though he must be responsible. Cox understands Negroes and the race question as few men have. Thus, his view of the Negro is analogous to that which a wise and just man has for a child, even though he denies that the Negro race is a child-race.

Throughout his career, Cox was in constant contact with Negroes. He was considered by Negro nationalists to be their foremost White contact and counsellor, and his entire life, in fact, was dedicated as much to Negro welfare as to White.

Cox mixed with Negroes—as any self-respecting man of any race mixes with persons of another race—on a frank and honest basis of individual and racial self-respect; a basis which can be observed only by individuals who are willing to grant to the other race the right to live and to develop according to their own inner imperatives and destiny, and who are free from the compulsive passion to change others.

Cox was a friend of Marcus Garvey, perhaps the Black man's greatest representative. It is sad that today so few know the story of this terribly wronged Negro. Born in the Bahamas, Garvey came to America in the '20's to found and lead the only mass movement which has ever existed among Negroes. It was a "Back-to-Africa" movement and Garvey was able to create great enthusiasm among American Negroes for the idea. It is said that Garvey had a following of six million.

Garvey, however, was bitterly hated and fought by the two interests which have always been the bane of solution of the Negro problem: each of which have much to lose by its solution. These two interests are the businessmen who exist by exploiting cheap Negro labor and the political

radicals of the Left whose success is dependent upon the Negro bloc vote plus the support which they find so easy to excite among maudlin Whites, who react with Pavlovian militancy whenever the "suffering Negro" stereotype is waved in the breeze.

The loss of American Negroes because of their voluntary Repatriation to Africa would injure these two unwholesome types at the same time it would help everyone else. In *White America,* as in other of his writings, Cox flays these two interests.

It is interesting to compare the treatment that the press gives to the Black nationalist groups with that given to integrationist groups. It is granted that some Black nationalist groups are potentially violent, but this is so only because throughout the years the Black nationalists have failed to gain any support from the White community whereas the integrationist groups have gathered tremendous financial, moral and political support. Yet, the nationalist goal is precisely that which most Whites want also: separate development, independence, race integrity, whereas the integrationist groups stand for all that normal Whites abhor: neighborhood deterioration, high taxes, rising crime, riots, interracial marriages, etc. Why is this so? It is so because the "free press" makes it so, and for no other reason. It is so because the Whites have to be made to believe that their friends are their enemies and their enemies are their friends and lies are truth and up is down and black is white, so as to feed the drive toward the extinction of both races and the triumph of universal political chaos, when the International Race will rule all.

If only ten thousand Whites during the last century had as assiduously promoted Repatriation as radicals have promoted integration, America's and the world's problems would be far less than they are today. But there were not ten thousand, there was only one, Earnest Sevier Cox.

A great deal more should be said about Repatriation. It has been ruled by the Establishment that discussion of this matter is absurd. It would be impossible and undesirable to repatriate Negroes to their ancestral homeland and the whole idea should be forgotten lest those who wish to

discuss it are laughed at. Instead, we should remain happy obediently paying exorbitant taxes to support degrading welfare schemes and endless slum clearance projects; to subsidize utterly wasteful socialistic boondoggles, rent and "poverty" payments to the indolent and useless, disastrous wars and useless expeditions throughout the world and "foreign aid," a euphemism used to describe the swindle whereby every year international bankers and foreign politicians manage to pluck a few more billion dollars from the pockets of you and me. Such a system (which, it must be admitted, does maintain spending adequate for the politicians in power to maintain themselves there) is unanimously agreed, among the brilliant newspaper columnists and wise commentators, to be infinitely more logical and rational than a plan to finance the voluntary emigration of our greatest problem—the Negro—by the annual payment of a small portion of our industrial and agricultural overproduction to the Repatriates.

The history of the world is a never-ending history of racial movement and migration. Great folk-wanderings are the warp and woof of history. This fact is historic and prehistoric. The Turks, Magyars and Finns originated near Tibet. The Aryans conquered and civilized India, Persia, Greece. The Caucasoid Ainus invaded the islands of Japan, only to be conquered by invading "Japanese," later. The American Indians came from Siberia, presumably across the Bering Strait, to populate the American continents. The Lombards, a Teutonic tribe, moved into decadent Rome, creating the Renaissance. Two other Teutonic tribes, Angles and Saxons, invaded England from the continent, displacing and mastering earlier arrivers, and then were themselves conquered by still another Teutonic invader, the Normans. America, Australia, South Africa and Prussia were all created by immigrants. And just a few years ago the Russians, with strong backing from "American" leaders, forcibly moved 14 million Teutons from eastern Europe where their families had lived, many of them, since the time of William the Conqueror. At the same time a million Arabs were being uprooted from Palestine to make way for Jews, and these Arabs are still

living in tents in the desert today, worse off than American Negroes have ever been.

Judging from this it seems as if the reluctance of the Establishment to contemplate further race migrations depends upon who is to be moved where. It is an undeniable fact that the continued presence of Negroes in America serves, as we have seen, two classes: capitalists with a hankering for cheap labor and the malign political forces and culture distorters who see the Negro as their greatest ally: a ready agent of social demoralization and all-pervasive cultural and racial deterioration. But still the responsibility cannot be shifted from the bulk of the White race, propaganda-besotted as it may be, which allows the problem to grow and grow from year to year without initiating or welcoming any serious and responsible attempt at a solution. * * *

It is profoundly distasteful to realize that both intellectually and spiritually we have been, most of us, made slaves to the Semitic dogma of universalism, whether we call it communism or humanism, or even, as liberal ecclesiastics do, Christianity; and it is this virulent madness which is at the root of the trouble in the world, today.

The true significance of Earnest Sevier Cox is that he was one of the first to see the vital necessity of breaking free of this tyranny and establishing a sound value system on earth. This new system of values must accept the races of mankind as God made them. It must be willing to grant to all men the right—even the imperative—of self-development. It must see as the worst sin the tearing apart of a finely-structured social system, for whatever reason. And it must ruthlessly eradicate that sick-minded* compulsion

* Sick-minded because it betrays the ultimate hypocrisy of the White liberal, who craves to convert his inferiors to his own universalistic equalitarian outlook, and Western mores, which he subconsciously feels is superior to all others. In a revealing story in *Newsweek* (May 23, 1966), titled, " 'African Queen' Complex," Dr. Alvin F. Poussaint, a Negro psychiatrist, was quoted as telling the American Psychiatric Association of obstacles to the genuine "Negro-White Understanding" that the equalitarians dream of. To quote the story: "'The [White girl do-gooder, such as Peace Corps-ite or freedom marcher] may constitute a problem of her own: the 'White African-Queen Complex,' in which she sees herself—consciously or unconsciously—as a beautiful, intelligent white woman leading the oppressed black man to freedom. One girl interviewed by Poussaint admitted 'what an electrifying feeling it is to be worshiped'; another felt like 'the Master's child come to free the slaves.' . . . Typically . . . the girl . . . unconsciously regards the Negro as inferior . . ."

of the incomplete and cowardly to change the life-pattern of others.

Such a system of values will be in truth universal. Only when all men are ready to acknowledge the supremacy of these values will there be—can there be—peace and progress on this globe.

White America ranks as one of the early works in the developing "race sociology" which Cox himself calls for, and it is a great contribution toward that needed science. Other authors who have contributed their part to this may be listed: Lothrop Stoddard, Madison Grant, Sir Arthur Keith, Alexis Carrel, Robert Ardrey, Friedrich Nietzsche, Oswald Spengler, Francis Parker Yockey and E. L. Anderson.

Dr. Anderson's contribution consists of a three-part article entitled *Cultural Dynamics* in which he specifically sets out to synthesize "a new approach to ancient social problems." In this pioneer study he reviews ethnology, anthropology, biology, history, zoology, genetics, psychology and sociology to come up with a broad outline of "the master social science," which must be ranked above the other social sciences because "it is part of all sciences and more important than any." *Cultural Dynamics* still has to be filled out in detail, but the broad outline is there. The pamphlet also contains an invaluable bibliography listing the works of 49 authors who have contributed something toward this view.*

It is interesting to speculate on the shape of the political struggle of the future. It will, of course, be between "Right" and "Left," but in a totally different context. Economic determinism will be a thing of the past for both Right and Left; in this sense the Right will win out completely, for the basis of human progress will be commonly realized to be biological and not economic.

Thus, all thought of upgrading mankind through the usual "idealism" of welfare spending and socialism will be recognized as being reactionary and obsolete. But the times will also move Conservatives away from their traditional

* *Cultural Dynamics* has been reprinted in a pamphlet, price, 25c, by THE NOONTIDE PRESS, P. O. Box 76062, Los Angeles, California 90005.

defense of superficial institutions. Instead, the Right vs. Left struggle will be within the realm of the individual: the Right will see genetics and Cultural Dynamics as the only way toward human upgrading; the Left will promote medicine and psychiatry. The former is the natural way, in accordance with the laws of Life and biology; the latter is unnatural.

The former means natural human development along eugenical lines within the traditional, irreplaceable human institutions of family, home and national culture; the latter means an unnatural horror of organ transplants and other surgical nightmares, drugs, bleaches, brainwashing, bottle babies, brain electrodes, communal living and universal tyranny by a self-chosen international master race.

This continuation of the struggle of Right vs. Left will be the last chapter if the Left should win, for it would bring the destruction of humanity—and this is the end toward which the Left has been heading since Intellect first challenged Instinct.

In the beginning the Left assaulted natural hierarchy and traditional social order and the economy. Then it attacked the basis of all culture—the concepts of family and race. Now, as if truly diabolic, this destructive force seeks to "remake" the human body and personality itself, which is the foundation of all progress and the summit of a billion years of evolution. Should this satanic attack succeed and the Left win, a mankind will be produced so spiritually and physically enfeebled, corrupt and debased that some unforseen natural calamity will simply wipe out all humanity as Nature always extinguishes all forms of Life which fail to abide by her laws.

But the Left, after three hundred years of success, cannot win this final battle; cannot kill humanity. This is so because its victories have destroyed that very element of *confusion* which to date has assured its progress. The issue is becoming too clear; it will soon be impossible to confuse it with semantics, or economic theories, or marxist jargon, or humanitarian garbage, or "religious" doubletalk. The issue will be so sharp that the final choice will be obvious.

White America is an important book which makes a

great contribution to basic understanding of human differences and racial realities, and this is a primary step toward a future which can be literally infinite in its possibilities.

E. L. ANDERSON

Sausalito, California
July 17, 1966

PREFACE

BECAUSE OF ITS NATURE, a race problem admits of but one or the other of two forms of solution. To solve the problem, the races concerned must be separated or amalgamated. As long as they dwell together, there will be a race problem. Remedial measures may be instituted for the purpose of reducing race friction, and adjustments more or less satisfactory may be made, but the problem will continue as long as the races are in contact.

The student of the American Negro problem (which is but a segment of a world-wide color problem) may approach the subject from two angles. He may seek to assuage race friction; or he may seek to solve the Negro problem. The following pages constitute a study of the Negro problem with the latter purpose in view. Remedial measures tending to assuage race friction are, of course, desirable and may be necessary, but they leave the student where he begins—with a race problem still on his hands. What is needed in regard to the three-century-old American Negro problem is a permanent solution; not a temporary adjustment. With a solution of the problem, the United States will be free to develop a white culture uninfluenced by the presence of the increasing millions of Africans within her borders. Without such a solution, America is to be burdened with a race problem forever, or until such times as the races become amalgamated and the future American a negroid.

By reason of the unusual circumstance attendant upon the securing of the data herein presented, it may be expedient to relate the manner and extent of the research.

The writer's interest in the American Negro problem dates back to the last year of his student course at Vanderbilt University. Then for three years at the University of Chicago, his time was given to a study of the American problems of color and to preparation for the making of a study of the world-wide color problems with the purpose of bringing to bear upon the American problems information obtained from a study of the white race in contact with colored races throughout the world. This new field of research appeared to offer much of practical advantage to the American student, for the white race has been in contact with colored races during six thousand years of authentic history, and there are at the present time, some

thirteen white nations with the Negro problem to solve.

The purpose of the writer was fourfold: (1) to observe the ethnic traits of the colored races; (2) to compare the Negro policies of other white nations; (3) to study the independent Negro governments; (4) to seek to discern the results upon the white race and its institutions of its centuries of contact with colored races. It is the last named purpose which is embodied in the present thesis.

Having prepared to make an investigation of the world-wide color problem, the writer set about securing financial aid in furthering his plan. He applied to many institutions for aid. He enclosed with the applications a general statement of the gravity of our Negro problem and the rich field for research beyond America offering enlightenment upon our problem, together with testimonials, given by two of his professors—men of high scholastic standing. All efforts to secure funds for the proposed investigation failed. A few of the institutions approached were practically interested in the Negro problem, but were confining their research to local conditions.

The chagrin of the writer was considerable, for the denials of aid were usually accompanied with an expressed appreciation of the practical value of the proposed research. Having exhausted the possibilities for securing funds, he resolved to rely upon his own resources in financing the undertaking.

With this in view, he left Chicago in the fall of 1909, and soon thereafter was en route to Cape Town, Africa, traveling as a steerage passenger. In South Africa, employment was obtained in the gold and diamond mines where hundreds of thousands of Negroes are gathered as laborers under white superintendents.

Leaving South Africa, he journeyed overland to Cairo, a distance of 4,500 miles. From Egypt, a journey down the East Coast enabled him to see several colonies—French, Italian, British, Portuguese.

From Africa the investigation was extended to Australasia: the year following, to the East Indies, South and East Asia. Later, South and Central America and the West Indies were visited.

In Africa, the course of the journey included the full length of the Nile. In Equatorial South America, the headwaters of the Amazon were reached in the high Andes, and that river followed to the Atlantic Ocean.

During the six years of travel, the mines of Africa and Peru, the newspapers, magazines, and lecture platform of South

Africa, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and the United States yielded the funds that had been so earnestly sought at American institutions. Working two and a half years underground (from 700 to 1,900 feet) may not appeal to one as an enticing way of financing a scientific undertaking, but such a method has two important advantages—the rate of remuneration is relatively high, and one is thrown into intimate and prolonged contact with many colored races. The intimacy of contact is an important consideration to the ethnological student.

Both in foreign lands and in America the extensive study of the contact of races, together with the prolonged journeys, have appealed to the press, and some twenty important publications have given lengthy articles to the result of the investigations. The interest thus manifested more than compensates for the hardships of the undertaking, for it is a tribute to the need and possible value of the research.

The work was completed just as the United States was drawn into the World War, thereby creating a condition which rendered its publication neither practical nor expedient at that time. Since the conclusion of hostilities, attention has been forced upon the American Negro problem by violent symptoms of unrest of that race, while in the final revision the author has been able to make use of additional information, obtained when in service in the American Expeditionary Force, by a first-hand study of colored contingents in Europe —Asiatic, African, and American—thus completing a study of the color problem upon all continents.

While this volume deals primarily with the Negro problem it will readily be seen that this, though the gravest, is not the only color problem to be solved before the realization of a "White America." The danger from beyond the Pacific, rightly called the "Yellow Peril," must be faced courageously. Upon its proper solution depends the attainment of the white ideal as much as upon the segregation of the African race which has been with us for three centuries, has grown to some eleven millions in our midst, and is wholly alien to our race and institutions. In a much minor number we have the red Indians, the absorption of whom will in a measure lower the creative intelligence of the white man.

The program proposed for the solution of the Negro problem should be adjusted to a program for the exclusion of the Asiatic and to one for the selection of a desirable type of European immigrant.

During the period of preparation of this volume there ap-

peared two publications of importance, one dealing with the racial basis of European history (*The Passing of the Great Race,* by Madison Grant), the other showing the impending peril of the Asiatic to Europe as well as to America and the rest of the white world (*The Rising Tide of Color,* by Lothrop Stoddard). The reader is referred to these publications for data bearing upon our immigration problem and the world-wide color problem.

It is impossible to deal with a wide range of history without presenting details of data to which exception may be taken. Particularly this is true when use is made of any of the present classifications of the races of mankind, for the current classifications are not without defect.

The opinions of others have been sought even when the research of the writer may have placed him in more favorable position for the acquirement of the data presented than the authority cited. Nor has there been an attempt to limit quotations to the best known authorities, for the truths herein presented have been discerned by many students. In presenting data from some of the earlier writers, who worked with less complete information than that available to the ethnologists of today, care has been taken to utilize such of their data as is found in accord with present information.

I wish to acknowledge indebtedness to Mr. Madison Grant for his criticism of the ethnological data herein presented. The reader will find his views definitely expressed in a quotation given at the beginning of Chapter XIII.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THERE IS NO LAMP by which my feet may be guided but the lamp of experience." This declaration is found in that eventful oration of Patrick Henry which brought the Southern colonies to the aid of the Northern and resulted in the establishing of the United States of America. It is a tribute to the inestimable value of experience as a guide to conduct, individual and social. Experience is knowledge, and, by having knowledge of the past, we are able to avoid the mistakes of the past. Experience charts the oceans, determines dangerous currents, places beacons upon the rocks, marks the safe passages.

A well known British statesman, when contemplating the perilous position of sixty million British whites who rule nearly four hundred million colored subjects, said that the problems arising from the white man's contact with the colored races were the most difficult confronting civilization, problems upon which history casts no light. There is an element of gloom in this observation. Practical statesmen seek light from the past by which to proceed in the present and in the future. If civilization's chief problem is not to be made clearer by light from history, there is reason for doubt and gloom. Were the problems arising from the contact of races temporary problems, there would not be cause for uncertainty, but aggressions on the part of the modern white man have placed the white race in contact with all colored peoples, and race friction is to increase rather than grow less.

Happily for the world, the practical statesman is wrong when asserting that history furnishes no light by which our feet may be guided in the situation which confronts us. Light from history is obtainable, both as to the fundamental problem underlying race friction and the practical problems arising out of the white man's control of the colored races. Such light is available as a result of the labors of the biologist and especially as a result of the advancement of the science of ethnology. Up to the present, the white man in contact with colored races has generally ignored light from history; it may even be said that he has been unaware that there is light from history by which he may be guided.

The work of ethnologists, many unknown to fame and believed to be dealing with not very important matters, is at hand to give the practical statesman that light for which he

seeks and the need of which he so deeply feels. Ethnology has not said its last word, but it has spoken in authoritative tone those things upon which we may construct a race sociology; and it is this more than all else of which the white world stands in need.

It may surprise the practical man of affairs to learn that scientific research has revealed to us a record of more than six thousand years of race contact. In Africa, the white man's dealing with the Negro dates back this far in authentic history, and in Asia we have at our disposal some forty centuries of the white man's dealing with the colored races of that continent. While sixty centuries are but a short period in the life of a race, yet they are sufficient from which to judge the results of race contact.

The science of ethnology, if properly restricted, will not deal with mankind as such, but with the various races. Its province is not to determine the origin of man and his development, but to trace the origin and development of the several races. Ethnology may properly be concerned with the results arising from contact of races. It is this phase of that science with which we deal in this volume. A study of the results arising from the contact of races is to have a practical influence upon the white man and his civilization. It will give knowledge that may be considered the imperative need of civilization.

Race friction is not local, not confined to one continent—it is world wide. We cannot escape it though we make the attempt. But there is no evidence whatever that either the white man or the colored seeks to avoid race contact. Contact is the source of friction. Steam, steel and electricity prevent isolation of any race or breed. We must look forward to a continuation of race contact. From the white man's standpoint, the color problem may be defined as the difficulty of determining the extent and intent of race contact to the end that the colored races may benefit and the white may not be endangered either in race stock or culture. That the white race retain ethnic purity is not a superficial desire; it is a primary necessity if civilization, as we understand it, is to continue. By preserving itself, the white race is to promote its own progress and impart its achievements to the backward races.

A study of the following pages will reveal that *the white race, as white, has outdistanced the other races in cultural attainments, spiritual and material.* This will constitute light from history. We shall also see that *the white race, become hybrid, has not been able to continue its cultural progress.*

This, too, is light from history. We confess that we do not know how to convince or even disturb that once large but constantly dwindling group of white theorists who, when confronted by indisputable facts, past and present, simply reply, "It might have been different, or it may yet be different." This group of non-scientific thinkers grudgingly acknowledges the age-long ascendency of the white race, but will tell one that it might have been otherwise and it may yet be so. Those who construct a race sociology upon "ifs," "mays" and "mights," dwell in the realm of fancy and are secure, for there is no method by which they may be reached. To them the ethnologist may reply, "When your 'ifs,' 'mays' and 'mights' come true, you are entitled to consideration."

In constructing a program by which the white race is to be guided in its future contact with the colored races, we are to be influenced by facts only. Suppositions and hopes have their place, but not properly so in determining the future of the white man and his civilization. What is needed is the light of experience, not the halo of prospect and prophecy. The results of past contact of white with colored are to be relied upon as imperative suggestions which are to determine the purpose and limits of future contact. By knowing the past, we may profit by reason of such knowledge, whether it reveals success or failure.

It may be necessary that some consider the fact that the races as such are not of recent origin. At the dawn of history, they were constituted very much as they are today. The earliest records reveal the white race in ascendency, just as that race is foremost at the present time. The relative position of the races has not changed for many thousands of years. Some ethnologists have asked: if the races have retained relative positions for six thousand years, what reason have we to suppose that long before the dawn of history, say fifty thousand years ago, they were in different relation one to the other?

Contact of the white race with a colored produces that which is popularly called a color problem. But it is necessary for us to understand that a color problem is not merely a problem of color. A color problem rightfully understood goes deeper than the skin. It is that problem, or problems, arising from the culturally advanced white man's contact with the lesser advanced non-white. It is this and yet it is more. Culture is the product of a peculiar mentality acting upon environment and being in some degree responsive to the influences of environment. But races placed under similar environment do

not produce similar culture. If advantage and opportunity be equal and the results widely different, we have cause for inquiry whether the various races have not evolved difference in mentality just as they have evolved difference in skin color, hair texture, and other less obvious, though equally material, physical distinctions. Is it not reasonable to believe that if evolution has given to the various races well defined markings in skin, hair, and headform, that the same forces may have established coordinated differentiations in brain quantity and quality? This is a plausible theory and to it we cannot refrain from inviting the consideration of the remaining members of that one time world-dominating host who seek to show that the African is a youthful Mongolian and a child Caucasian.

Environment has played an important part in determining the differences between the races, but it has done so only in conjunction with an immense period of time. Race traits and potentialities were determined at that remote period when the races were young and plastic. Succeeding centuries have but accentuated the differences in racial trends which were determined countless centuries ago. Those who have held that the difference between the white and the colored is a temporary environmental difference merely have, in effect, held that evolution has qualified every organ of the human body except the brain, which organ remains the same in all races. Such a conclusion is rankly uncritical, and that it at one time was seriously considered is ample evidence of the low state of biological knowledge prevailing among a large proportion of white people.

If brain matter is identical among all the races of mankind, why is the mental response to environment so clearly demarked among races subject to similar environment? Why are the Indians of Brazil sullen and melancholy while the Negro in Brazil, after four centuries of identical environment, remains loud-mouthed and boisterous even as he is in his African home? In Brazil, the Negro and the Indian intermarry readily and consequently experience similar social environment, but neither social nor natural surroundings are able to make the Negro more like the Indian. Similar illustrations may be multiplied indefinitely, but it is not necessary, for we have ample evidence that there is such a thing as race and heredity as well as environment. The white race in recent centuries has modified its environment rather than been modified by environment.

Both for scientific observation and for practical dealing with

the color problem we must accept the races as such, hopelessly differentiated from each other and conditioned to development in accord with their respective instincts and tendencies. Practical politics no more than scientific research may ignore organic race traits. To do so is to bungle affairs hopelessly, as has been done in many parts of the world during the past century. We cannot act toward the Negro as if he were a white child, for he is not a white child, but a full grown black whose hope for the future lies in his development of himself as a Negro, and not in his pathetic and ludicrous aping of the white man.

We cannot ignore race. It is written large in human history. It has left its visible trace upon every continent. We may specify a single race that biologically is but a portion of mankind, but by virtue of race instincts and capacities has contributed all the higher human achievements. This race, the white race, has not had advantage over other races in time, climate, country, or other environment, but to its fertile brain and restless activity humanity owes its all. From our knowledge of history, we are safe in assuming that if the white race were effaced from the earth, civilization, as we know it, would perish. The cultural debit of the colored peoples to the white race is such as to make the preservation of the white race a chief aim of the colored, if these latter but understood their indebtedness. By keeping the white man white, the colored may look forward to a future in which they may enjoy cultural surroundings superior to their own racial contributions. The inventions of the white man are to become world possessions. This is so at present, has been so in the past, and apparently is to continue to be so. The insane desire of the colored to blot out the color line and bridge the evolutionary chasm between the races by the process of inter-racial marriage ignores the fact that the white race as white is the source of progress. That the colored races should seek to "kill the goose that lays the golden egg" is further proof that their inferiority, demonstrated so clearly in cultural attainments, extends to their rational processes in general.

While the future of the colored races is concerned so deeply with the purity of the white, we are not for a moment to consider it proper to permit their judgment to determine whether the white is to remain white. This is a question for the white to decide, but it would seem that light from history on this

matter ought to reach even the mind of the colored. The white man founded the cultures of Egypt and India and eventually interbred with his colored subjects, leaving a mixbreed population heir to the culture of the pure white. With what result? Arrested development! Stagnation! This is light from history that should penetrate the densest intellect. The African Negro was raised from a brute-like condition by white Egypt—what influence for good has mongrel Egypt had upon the Negro? The African Negro's knowledge of the present civilized arts has come from the pure whites of Europe, not from the mixbreed whites contiguous to his domain.

While science may deal with experience only and may not take authoritative cognizance of events that have not happened, yet the results of experience are all that we have from which to construct a program for the future; and in this respect it may be said that a program for the future based upon experience is a program based upon science. The light of experience will reveal that, regardless of the consequence, the colored races will gladly avail themselves of opportunity to inter-breed with the white; and if the white is to remain white, since that race is now in contact with all races, such result shall depend entirely upon the attitude of the white man. A gloomy consideration with regard to this matter is that sixty centuries of race history have proved that the white man has at no time or place remained white when in prolonged contact with colored races.

This, then, is the essence of the color problem—the difficulty of preserving the culturally fit when in contact with the culturally unfit. There are, incidental to race contact, economic and political problems which are constantly manifest; but the fundamental problem is to preserve the breed from which progress issues.

In dealing with the world-wide color problem, great stress should be placed upon the fundamental, rather than the incidental phase of the problem, for the question of color is a mooted and vexed question. Yet, strange to say, the white man seems always to have grasped the essential phase of the problem, but has been greatly confused in his practical dealing with the less important phases.

Those who are familiar with the history of race contact, or those who have considered the situation today, will readily admit that racial inter-breeding is one irredeemable phase of race contact and that other problems, so-called, are of but minor importance. There is an omen of hope in the fact that

the leading white nations at present are united in opposing inter-breeding of the white man with the colored races. This much the white peoples of the world, theoretically, hold in common—opposition to miscegenation. With this in common, white men, regardless of nationality or geographical location, should be able to formulate a program upon which all whites may agree, and by such agreement become a unit in dealing with the backward races.

Any analysis of the colored problem should be stated in unequivocal terms, for the future of the white man in contact with the colored races is to be determined by the attitude of the many of the white race rather than by the conceptions of a few. The white world is a democratic world and the people, rather than the specialists, have the deciding influence in national policies. The color problem must be resolved into a few simple propositions so very clear that the average man will not have doubt in comprehending their meaning nor difficulty in testing their merits.

The author of this treatise wishes to do his share in simplifying this problem, and he is quite conscious that if his analysis is wrong it will be disproved.

Our color problem is primarily that arising from the presence and the increase of the African in our midst. We have an Asiatic color problem and also one arising from an ever closer contact with the mix-breeds of Latin America; but the Negro problem overshadows all others, both in gravity and in interest. This book is written with our Negro problem in mind, but the problems arising from contact with the yellow and mixbreed races differ only in degree from those arising from contact with the Negro.

Scientific research has done much toward establishing the following propositions:

1. The white race[1] has founded all civilizations.
2. The white race remaining white has not lost civilization.
3. The white race become hybrid has not retained civilization.

The data presented in the succeeding chapters seem to justify the above conclusions. In one form or another they will be often repeated. Inquiries and objections have been anticipated to a considerable extent and will be answered as the reader follows the subject matter.

It is well to state at this point that the writer is fully aware that the term "white race" is not a satisfactory ethnological term.

[1] For definition of "White Race," see notes at end of Chapter I.

The term is used in its popular sense and is practically synonymous with the term "Caucasian race." We know that the "white race" in reality includes three or more "races."

The ancient civilizations whose origins have been ascribed to colored races will be shown to have developed directly or indirectly as results of the creative ingenuity of one or more branches of the white race. Just as the modern white man carried his culture to India, China, and the continent of Africa, the early white man conquered these centers and established there his culture.

Civilized institutions have not issued from the white race because the race is white but because the race is possessed of creative intellect and great energy. The retention of the color of the skin will not within itself insure progress in civilization. The individuals of superior heredity, those who initiate the successive stages in cultural progress, are few indeed and are the product of superior strains within the race. If the superior strains cease to multiply and the race increase is from the inferior strains, civilization will decay just as surely as if the white race should mix its blood with that of the colored races, though the decay will not be as rapid or as complete.[2]

In this general introduction, the author cannot refrain from calling attention to a matter that should greatly clarify the white man's attitude to the color problem, namely, that a most disturbing phase of the problem is not in reality a part of the problem of color, but is incidental to it, arising from a difference of opinion among groups of the white race as to the proper attitude of the white man towards the colored. Such division among the whites cannot but work harm to the white man and certainly it has never worked permanent advantage to the colored. Any seeming advantages the colored races have derived from inter-group conflicts within the white race concerning the colored are merely temporary, and do not have substance. The results of such conflicts have not extended to the evolutionary differentiations between the races. But they have promoted blood admixture of the races; and by so doing, created a type divergent from the parent races. Possibly it is necessary only to point out the geographical demarcations of those groups of the white race which have come into conflict regarding the colored in order to show that such difference of opinion and policy is temporary and is not to abide.

A study of the world-wide color problem during the past

2 The influence upon civilization of the increase of the inferior strains is well set forth by Lothrop Stoddard in his *Revolt Against Civilization* (1922).

eight or nine decades will reveal the white race divided into two schools of teaching with regard to a proper attitude towards the colored. One school is constituted generally of those portions of the white race that live apart from the colored, while the other school is made up of those portions of the white race that live in contact with the colored. The whites who dwell apart from the Negro have advocated one policy towards the Negro, while those whites who dwell with the Negro have advocated another policy. There is a general agreement among the whites who live apart from the Negro, whether these whites live in Europe or in America. There is also a general agreement among the whites who live in contact with the Negro, whether these whites live in the Southern States of the American Union, in the European colonies of Africa, Asia, Australasia, or in Latin America.

The teachings of the whites who live apart from the Negro have placed great emphasis upon environment, rather than upon race and heredity, whilst those whites who live in daily contact with the colored races are agreed that there is a difference between the white and the colored which cannot be bridged by present environment and that the development of the various races is conditioned by their respective race traits and tendencies.

It is safe to prophesy that there will be no further serious—certainly not armed—conflicts between the white groups over the colored races; for the perilous position of the white race in the world of today and tomorrow will compel that race to seek race unity, rather than division, which can only weaken the white man and artificially elevate the colored. Furthermore, there is an increasing tendency on the part of the whites who dwell apart from the colored to recognize that race traits and tendencies not only permanently adhere to the races, but that such potentialities must be taken into consideration in the white man's dealing with the colored.

It may readily be seen that the Negro problem is a part of the greater problem of heredity. When eugenics seeks to eliminate the unfit and establish the fit it has for its purpose not the betterment of physical types merely, but the establishment of those types of greatest value to progressive civilization.

A race which has not shown creative genius may be assumed to be an unfit type so far as progress in civilization is concerned and is a matter of concern for the eugenist. Those who seek to maintain the white race in its purity within the United States are working in harmony with the ideals of

eugenics. Asiatic exclusion and Negro repatriation are expressions of the eugenic ideal.

The latter chapters are given to a consideration of those problems which arise when civilization is in contact with the colored races, and to the only possible solution of the color problem if the white man is to remain white and retain his culture. The American Negro problem has already given rise to more volumes than has any other similar problem. Justification for this publication lies chiefly in the attempt to indicate the conditions in the rest of the world at present, and the results of race contact in the past, and present this knowledge as supplementary information to the many and capable works upon our Negro problem, which is more acute today than in the past and the intensity of which is ever increasing.

EDITORIAL POSTSCRIPT

The Selective Age Principle

In implementing a repatriation movement to restore Africans to their ancestral continent, Col. Cox liked the "Selective Age Principle" for transferring vigorous youths. He quoted Lord Melchett, a distinguished British Jew, who, when discussing the application of this principle in removing Jews from Poland to reduce race pressure there, as saying in regard to the annual removal of marriageable youth: "The effects of such transferences would be to nearly halve the original population in 20 years and in about 40 years to reduce it to about 14% of its former size."

As to such a policy, Col. Cox stated, in a lecture in Germany, in 1959: "A leisurely, sustained repatriation program would give to Negroes a nation of their own, or settle such as desire in African nations that may request such settlement."

CHAPTER I

Race Migrations: Prehistoric

WRITTEN RECORDS cover but a short last chapter in human history. To grasp the results of the contact of races, it is necessary to push back the curtain of history and trace earlier events; for prehistoric race migrations determined the present locations of the races in the Old World and peopled the New World. For many thousands of years, the three great divisions of mankind (white, yellow and black) existed substantially as we find them at the dawn of civilization. In the earlier period, as in the later, portions of these primary divisions of the human family changed their abodes, carrying with them in intellect and culture the germs of their later development.

No continent is inhabited exclusively by one race—even Europe is not altogether a white man's continent. The Mongol's descendants are in the north (Finns and Lapps) and in the east (Bulgars, Huns and Turks), while in the extreme south (southern provinces of Portugal, Spain and Italy), there is considerable infusion of Negro blood.

Nor is Asia occupied wholly by the yellow man; for this vast continent has for ages been the meeting place of the three races, and a large proportion of its inhabitants are their mongrel offspring. Africa is not, nor in the past has it been, a black man's land. The Hamites, who in earliest record occupied its northern shores and eastern prolongation, were not Negroes. The true Hamite is Caucasian. The Hamitic domination of North Africa yielded to the conquering Aryan, the Aryan to the Arab Semite, and the Semite, in turn, to the modern European—the English, French, Spanish and Italian, —all of whom are of the white race.[1]

Because of the absence of written record, we are not to infer that the determining of prehistoric migrations is a task yielding doubtful results. Race movement, particularly that of the Caucasian, is determinable by race culture which has everywhere waymarked Caucasian migrations; whilst the physical modification of the peoples with whom the white man has come into contact furnishes also satisfactory data. Language, too, may be offered as evidence. But such evidence, while valuable, is not always trustworthy; for the white man has often imposed his language upon the non-white and, in turn,

1 See notes at the end of this chapter.

he has, in some instances, acquired the tongues of other races. When two races come into permanent contact, there is blood amalgamation, creating a mongrel race; but the language of the one or the other will prevail. "No language is mixed in its inner mechanism."

Mankind grouped in race divisions has ever been in a state of flux, moving, counter-moving, conquering, amalgamating. Just as in recorded history we know that the Caucasian has been in motion, restless, daring, seeking unknown lands and dominating other peoples; so, in the vast period before the light of record, we can infer that such were his characteristics, for it is certain that no race has suddenly assumed world dominion. Such pre-eminence implies ages of preparation.

Civilization dawns upon the Nile and the Euphrates, and, after some centuries, its center is shifted to Greece. But before Socrates and Plato taught, the Eastern Aryans (Nordics) had transplanted Caucasian culture along the Indus and the Ganges, and had penetrated through India to Oceanic. Rome, Carthage and Greece struggled for supremacy and Rome prevailed. After five centuries of conflict, Rome's scepter passed to Germanic hands and since that time, apart from the temporary ascendency of the Moslem Arab, Teutonic peoples have dominated progress. Thus is briefly summarized the shifting of higher culture centers for the past ten thousand years, all of which owe origin and sustenance to Caucasian peoples.

But scientific research and exploration enable us to peer beyond this short period in human history into the untold ages of which there is no written record. Anthropology, archaeology, and philology have given up their secrets to the extent of enabling scientists to deduce reasonable conclusions as to race origins and to follow more certainly race movements. The constancy of skull formation, identifying the race type of skeletal remains; the remote antiquity of the implements of primitive man found in his caves and burial mounds; the dispersion throughout vast areas of allied language groups give data no less certain than written history in determining early race movements.

While the present peoples of Europe, which for convenience we group together as the Caucasian race, have left their impress by a modification of the physical type of the races with which they have dwelt, and to a certain extent have modified their speech, yet the most conspicuous waymark of their migrations is not their mongrel offspring, nor the spread of the Caucasic tongue, but their great stone monuments, their burial

mounds, and the ruins of their ancient cities. Hybrid groups have migrated to localities which have not been occupied by the true Caucasian, and, likewise, peoples who have learned a Caucasic speech; but the white man's cultural centers cannot have arisen in any portion of the world where the white man has not been. However, these cultural centers of the early white man nowhere exist apart from mongrel Caucasic peoples, while speech also often attests the white man's earlier presence.

Great numbers of the megalithic monuments, which mark generally the distribution of the early Mediterranean race, are in North Africa and in North and West Europe. From these centers the monuments or well defined burial mounds extend in two routes across Asia—a northern route through Siberia, Manchuria and Korea into Japan, and a southern route beginning in North Africa and passing through Asia Minor and Arabia into India and Oceania. Similar monuments are found elsewhere in territory occupied by the early white man, but the routes indicated mark their main extensions.

The ancient monuments, the use of which was to mark the burial places of the early Caucasian, exist in two types, the cell and the block, which have developed into the modern family vault and the tombstone. The block type was used to designate the location of the cell type, which was covered by a mound.

The value of these widely dispersed prehistoric monuments as waymarks in following the migrations of the early white man is recognized by ethnologists. J. McMillan Brown calls them "a Caucasian track across the earth."[2] E. B. Tylor speaks of the "rude stone monuments which may be traced in a remarkable line on the map."[3] A. H. Keane, one of the foremost British ethnologists, places great emphasis upon their value. "More important, especially in connection with early migrations, is the subject of the geographical distribution of the neolithic monuments. Broadly speaking, . . . all the stone structures of the cell and block types are mainly confined in Asia to the south (Naga, Khasi and Jaintea Hills, the Deccan south of the Vindyha Range, Irania, Asia Minor, Moab, Syria, Palestine, Arabia); in Africa to Mauritania taken in its widest sense (Tripolitana to the Atlantic); in Europe to the south (Crimea, Mediterranean Islands, Iberia); the west (Gaul, Belgium, and the British Isles); and the north (Scandanavia)."[4]

2 *Maori and Polynesian*, p. 7.
3 *Anthropology*, p. 349.
4 *Ethnology*, p. 133.

This megalithic engineering skill is not a stage in the development of the several races. It is not found among blacks or yellows. The Asiatics, in whose countries these monuments are found, are the mixbreed descendants of the megalithic builders, or later intruders.

The monuments along the ancient migrant routes show that the Caucasian of the stone age, like his descendants of today, was a maritime race, the only race that has not halted at the sea.[5] The monuments generally adhere to the seas or to minor water courses. Water is an effective barrier to the Negro's advance. The yellow man is not so helpless as the black, but, unmixed with the white, he has not proved himself a water migrant. The white man only is undeterred by ocean wave.

The white man of the later stone age reached the Pacific Ocean at two points some three thousand miles apart. From northern Europe through Asia to Japan; from northern Africa through Arabia and India to the East Indies and to furthest Polynesia. In remote Easter Island he placed his monuments of stone. Between the points where the neolithic whites reached the Pacific there is also evidence of early Caucasian megalithic culture. From Japan, "the megalithic Caucasian seagoing race . . . unMongolized, went south into Polynesia,"[6] while the Caucasian of the southern route, migrating northwards along the coast of Asia and the adjacent islands, reached the Philippines. In doing this, the migrants of the southern route cut across the line of movement of those of the northern route. Thus, after thousands of years of separation, Caucasic groups met in the islands of the Pacific.

In the islands nearer the mainland, the Caucasian type has been highly modified by inter-breeding with the yellow and black races, but in the more distant islands of Polynesia the Caucasian type is strikingly maintained. There the inhabitants "have a singularly European appearance," and "early voyagers broke into raptures over the beauty of the women and the stalwart grace of the men." However, there is also race admixture in the remotest islands of Polynesia. The most that can be said with regard to the purity of race is that Caucasian blood predominates. "There are traces of the negroid even

5 The Nordic race is master of the sea as it is master of the land, but the Mediterranean race has distinguished itself upon the water. The Phoenecians were Mediterraneans. The Polynesians in colonizing the remote islands of the Pacific Ocean proved that race to be among the world's greatest sailors, but the Polynesians were clearly not of the yellow or black races, though at the present time they may show admixture with both of these races.

6 *Maori and Polynesian,* p. 60, J. MacMillan Brown.

among the upper classes."[7] This Negro blood has come from the Asiatic branch of the Negro race which is now almost extinct as a pure type on the mainland, but abounds in Oceania, and whose earlier domain must have "included the whole of Polynesia, as far as Easter Island in the extreme east, Hawaii and New Zealand in the extreme north and south."[8] The racial status of the inhabitants of the islands south and southeast of Asia may possibly be summarized by stating that in the Melanesian group of islands Negro blood predominates, while in the Polynesian group the inhabitants are yet fundamentally Caucasian. But Mongolian blood is also widely dispersed in this area.

The Negro's migrations in early times were probably determined by pressure from the whites, as his later movements have been. The white man's contact with the Negro dates from a distant prehistoric age. Such contact has not been restricted to the western or African branch of the Negro race, but has extended to the eastern (Asiatic or Oceanic) branch as well. It will be necessary for the reader to keep in mind the prolonged contact of the various races. A well known British authority dealing with Negro history says, "About 10,000 years ago (at a guess), a Caucasian race allied to modern Libyans and Syrians took possession of the lower Nile Valley, supplanting and absorbing the aborigines. . . . These ancestors of the great Egyptian peoples, together with allied tribes, pressed down on Negro Africa, mingling freely with the black and brown, to whom they imparted their Neolithic civilization. The pressure of the intrusive Caucasians gradually drove the pure blood Negro peoples into the more equatorial regions of Africa, and even propelled them away from the eastern prolongation of Africa (Somali- and Gali-land) toward the Congo Basin, Lake Tchad, Nigeria and Guinea."[9]

But it is held by able authorities upon the prehistoric domains of the various races that occupation of North Africa by Caucasian peoples long antedates ten thousand years. The Egyptians of the great civilization were a white, not a colored people. The negroid features so prevalent among the present inhabitants of Egypt are the result of the white Egyptian's absorption of Negro blood.

Caucasian pressure upon Negro Africa was not hurried; it required thousands of years to shift the true Negro to his

7 A. H. Keane, *Ethnology*, p. 283.
8 *Ibid.*, 283.
9 Sir Harry H. Johnston, *Britain Across the Seas*, p. 18.

present locations; nor was it complete, for the white race throughout this period interbred with the Negro, creating a mixbreed population which inhabits the most of Africa north of the equator and whose southern migrations at a later date brought them along the East Coast to Cape Town, at the extreme south of the continent.

As the present-day French are recruiting Negroes in Africa to use in their warfare, so in Egypt, "In the sixth dynasty, about 2000 B.C., the celebrated inscriptions of Prince Uni make mention of the Nashi, or Negroes, who were levied and drilled by the tens of thousands for the Egyptian army."[10] Evidence of the early use of the Negro as soldier in the warfare of the whites implies still earlier and extensive contact with that race. From this contact with the Caucasian the Negro, in some degree, acquired Caucasian culture. He was taught the use of the white man's weapons, and from the white man received domestic animals. "Egyptian civilization penetrated far and wide through Negro Africa. It may have been almost instrumental in saving the Negro and the bushman from relapsing into such a beastlike condition of life that, if much longer pursued, it might have cut off this division of the human race from complete community with us in all the attributes of humanity. From ancient Egypt the Negro and the negroid derived all the domestic animals and cultivated plants he knew and made use of (except, perhaps the dog), down to the coming of the modern Arabs and Portuguese. From Egypt there gradually spread through Negro Africa religious beliefs, the use first of stone and then of metal weapons, musical instruments, the art of weaving, and possibly of canoe making or boat building."[11]

It is an interesting study, this age-long retreat of the true Negro from his home on the Nile to his present locations in the forests south of the Sahara, the Congo Basin and the Atlantic littoral and hinterland of equatorial Africa.

Turning to the Asiatic branch of the Negro race, we find his dispersion widespread. De Quatrefages assigns much latitude to the early domain of the Negro on the Asiatic mainland. The degree northward of their occupation is a matter of doubt, but there is certainly a negroid fringe along much of the southern coast, and there yet remain upon the mainland remnants of the Negro race in the form of pygmies, though these latter are almost extinct. The mass of the eastern branch

10 E. B. Tylor, *Anthropology*, p. 3.
11 Sir Harry H. Johnston, *Britain Across the Seas*, pp. 28–30.

inhabit the islands south and southeast of Asia. In these islands there are also isolated groups of the pygmy type of Negro, such as that people whom Flower calls an "infantile race" on the Andaman Islands, and the negrito of the Philippines. This dwarf people has somehow been left behind in the course of evolution. The taller negroids (Papuans) or "mop-heads" of certain writers may have been differentiated from the dwarf variety chiefly by evolution; certainly their type has been modified by blood admixture with yellow and white. It is the Papuans whose numbers count and whose geographical extension is important. Their blood exists in greater or less degree in most of the inhabitants of Oceania. In physical type, the Papuan is a better looking Negro than the West Coast African, but it is doubtful if the mentality of the former is of higher grade than that of the latter.

The yellow race at an early time reached its present center of population in southeastern Asia, and offshoots of that race, mixed more or less with Caucasian blood, arrived in America. The important movements of the yellow man, save the migrations to Early America, are historic rather than prehistoric, and will be outlined in subsequent chapters.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

Race, the descendants of a common ancestor. There is wide latitude in the use of this term. Ethnologically it implies well marked spiritual and physical attributes which are transmissible by the laws governing heredity, and which serve to set apart, visibly, from the rest of mankind the group to which it is applied. We speak of the human race, the Caucasian race, the English race, etc. There is no flawless classification of the races of mankind. Such classifications as exist need revision, but for the purposes of this book the popular classifications are satisfactory. The "Caucasian race" is in reality constituted of three well-marked divisions of mankind, one of which (the Alpine) is clearly of Asiatic, not European, origin. Nor is it certain that the other two are of European origin. The Nordic, in its Teutonic variation, is of European orgin, but the basic stock from which it evolved may not have originated in Europe, while the Mediterranean also is probably a migrant into Europe.

Skin color, hair texture and form, skull shape and capacity, skeletal proportions, and psychic predispositions, are the main criteria of race. The pure races have had independent evolution from remote prehistoric ancestors. Like thoroughbreds among the lower animals, the members of pure races will breed true to type. In popular classification, based upon color, there are three, sometimes five, races: *white, yellow* and *black*. The so-called *red* and *brown* races may be considered mixed races or variations of

the white, yellow, or black.

The White Race (Caucasian) has three well-marked divisions: Nordic, Alpine, and Mediterranean.

All blonds throughout the world are Nordics, or are mixtures deriving their blond characteristics from the Nordic race. True blonds are tall; fair complexioned; flaxen, red, or chestnut haired; blue, grey, or hazel eyed. The Teutonic Nordic has a long skull; other Nordics are of shorter stature and have rounder skulls. This race, throughout historic record, has proved itself the "Master Race," giving to the world the Aryan language, most of science, literature, and art. Imposing themselves upon conquered peoples, branches of this race developed the ancient civilizations of Persia, India, Greece, and Rome. It is everywhere at the present time, especially in its Saxon and Frank representatives, the leader in modern civilization. The Nordic race has furnished an overwhelming proportion of soldiers, sailors, explorers, administrators, and inventors known to history. It is not now a pure race except in restricted localities, as in Scandinavia and portions of the Baltic Basin, being mixed, generally, in greater or less degree, with the blood of other races. Americans of colonial descent are fundamentally Nordic, while many Nordic immigrants have strengthened this element in the American population.

The Alpine (of Asiatic origin) is a stockily built race with round skulls, inhabiting most of Asia Minor, the most of Russia (there are many Nordics in northwestern Russia), the most of the Balkans; mixed with the Nordic in the northern half of Italy; the most of central France, with extensions into Brittany, and along a narrow strip of the northern coast of Spain. Originally the Alpines were a brunet race but are now mixed much with the Nordic, the mixtures having a tendency to show the Nordic eye, though other Nordic characteristics may not be evident. This race is credited with having initiated the age of metals in Europe.

Mediterraneans, the small, dark race surrounding the shores of the Mediterranean Sea but with western extensions to Great Britain and Ireland and eastern extensions to India. This race underlies the Nordic in Great Britain, Ireland, parts of France and Italy. There is an upper class of Nordics, superimposed—at least partially—on the Mediterraneans in Portugal and Spain. A keen witted, mentally agile race, distinguished in the arts.

These three races of Europe constitute what is popularly called the Caucasian or European race. The three, led by the Nordic, especially so in modern times, have contributed to civilization all its higher achievements. While the Nordic race has been the main factor in developing civilization it appears unfitted to compete successfully with the other European races under modern industrial conditions. Factories, with their attendant cramped and unhealthy living quarters, do not favor the Nordic. In order to maintain his social position he limits the number of his children. Just as the Nordic is finally eliminated in intensive competition with the other

European races, so is the entire white race endangered when in competition with the colored races.

Aryan, an early Nordic stock that, by conquest and culture, imposed its language upon many peoples. It is not possible to identify with certainty any living people as descendants of this early Aryan, but all Nordics are related, directly or indirectly, to the ancient Aryan.

Teuton, a branch of the Nordic race which for two thousand years has played the chief role in history and in civilization. Goths, Saxons, Jutes, Angles, Franks, Lombards, Burgundians, Vandals, Suevi, Varangians, Swabians, Belgians, Norsemen, and Danes overran Europe and conditioned modern civilization to development along Teutonic lines.

The Black or Negro race exists in great purity in the forests south of the Sahara, and in most of the Congo Basin; in the rest of Africa it is generally mixed, though often but slightly, with Mediterranean offshoots in early times (more recently with Nordics). Anciently this race occupied much of southern Asia and its blood has modified the race type of many of the inhabitants along the southern coast to, and beyond, India. In the Melanesian Islands south of Asia it is found in comparative purity. Its blood exists in greater or less degree in the Polynesian Islands.

The Yellow or Mongolian race has ethnic center in the southeast of Central Asia, where it is found in comparative purity. Mixed with the white race it extends across northern Asia from Japan to Finland and Lapland. Its blood is everywhere discernible throughout southeastern Asia and in many of the islands south of Asia.

Those who find it convenient to make additional classifications on the basis of color define as Brown the most of north and northeast Africans, the inhabitants of southern Asia Minor and southern Asia, together with many of the islanders south of Asia. This race is largely Mediterranean or a mixture of that stock with other peoples in its western extension, Mongoloid in its eastern.

The Red race is the American Indian. It shows marked Mongolian affinities in many of its representatives; its eastern tribes appear to be of Caucasian derivation.

ANTHROPOLOGY *(physical)*.—The science which treats of the physical structure of man.

ARCHAEOLOGY.—The science which treats of antiquities.

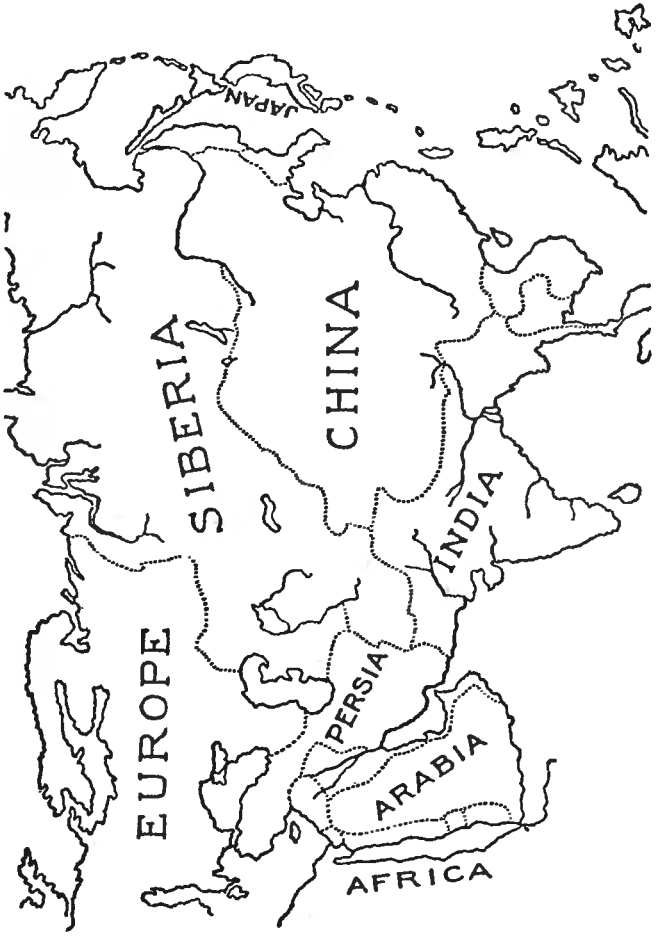
CIVILIZATION.—See Note below.

ETHNOLOGY.—The science which treats of the different natural races of man.

NEGROPHILIST.—Negro lover. This term is applied to certain whites in a sense similar to the Negro's characterizing a member of his race as a "white man's Negro."

PHILOLOGY.—The science which treats of languages.

"Civilization" is used in this treatise as a term which includes the total of the white race's material and spiritual culture. Racial "superiority" and



"inferiority" are determined by racial cultural contributions. The white man's cultural achievements is the standard of comparison. Cultural potentialities of colored races are not denied but demonstrated cultural capacities only are used in comparing one race with another. It is assumed that the white race's relatively high culture is an evidence of "specialized" racial characters in that race. Specialized characters in any race are of later origin than "generalized" human characters, consequently are less stable, and would tend to disappear in the white man's mixbreed descendants.

CHAPTER II

Race Migrations: Historic

THE PRECEDING CHAPTER is an attempt to account for the geographical distribution of the three great divisions of mankind up to the beginning of written history, about seven thousand years ago. But it is only the more settled groups of Caucasians and Mongoloids who furnish historical data. The Caucasian is essentially migratory, and the pioneers of his great movements have had things other than literature to challenge their attention. The inhospitable forests of Europe were more difficult to subjugate than the fertile valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile, and in Europe, there were not servile hordes of negroid and mongoloid peoples among whom the Caucasians could reign as aristocrats and thus gain opportunity for intellectual pursuits. With the pioneering groups of early Caucasians we cannot deal fully because of scarcity of records, but we may confidently infer that they were slowly preparing the great cultures of the present.

Much of Babylonian restlessness falls within the historic period. Assyria rose to dominion. Egypt and Phoenicia attained affluence through the industries and commerce, and by them, if not before, the continent of Africa was circumnavigated (305 B.C.). The ships of Solomon brought gold from the land of Ophir (probably the ancient gold mines of Rhodesia). Within the historic period the Eastern Aryans (Nordics) extended conquest and control over the inhabitants of India, a hybrid people, the result of fusion of the earlier Caucasian migrants there with negroid and mongoloid aborigines. From India, during the historic period, the Aryans passed south into Oceania and east on the mainland into Cambodia, reinforcing the primitive Caucasian elements in these lands, and building, in Java and Cambodia, magnificent temples and great cities. Western Aryans (Nordics) subjugated much of Europe and, by establishing aristocracies, superimposed the civilizations of Greece and Rome.

Greek influence penetrated far and wide; and troops, well trained by Philip, conquered, under Alexander, most of the known world. Roman legions subdued Carthage and Greece, and Rome reigned supreme in a wide-flung empire, everywhere creating stability of government and facilitating travel. The Roman domination of the world led to the massing in

Italy of tens of thousands of foreigners, white, yellow, black, and mongrel, and the fusion of these with the Roman populace has created a mongrel Italic race which, apart from certain Nordic elements, is essentially inferior to the founders of the republic.

With the above salient facts in mind to enable us to grasp anew the white man's early tendency toward conquest and migration, we may refer to the later period of history, from the beginning of the Christian era to the present. While Babylon, Egypt, Greece, Rome, and India, by conquest and culture, were dominating and assimilating the less capable of their own race and the Mongoloids and Negroes, there was, in the North, a nucleus of pure Caucasians, untainted with inferior blood, preparing to fill the pages of history.

In the first century B.C., Caesar has used friendly Nordic tribes to repel the unfriendly Nordics who were beginning to make their pressure felt. Nordic allies and Nordic mercenaries contending in behalf of Rome strengthened her imperial policies for a period of more than five hundred years. At last Rome herself fell prey to the Nordic. Teutonic tribes, debouching from their forest homes, overran the whole of Europe. The fierce warriors whom Roman legions had long since learned to dread found none to stay their conquests. Sometimes they fought naked to show the Roman armies their contempt for snow and ice. With them came their women, who fought beside the men upon many bloody battlefields.

This deluge, extending over a period of more than three centuries, conditioned the civilized world to development along Teutonic lines. It re-Caucasianed the south of Europe. It placed Teutonic rulers on every throne of Europe. Many German tribes, forming part of the great conquest, were assimilated by their conquered peoples who, in all instances, were more numerous than the victors. Among those who retained race purity, at least approximately, were the Lombards of North Italy, the Northern Franks (French), who conquered Gaul and gave their name to the new possession, and the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, who subjugated the British Isles. It should not escape our attention that it is the Teutons which retained closest relation to the home land, that led in European progress. The tribes that became isolated were eventually submerged by the surrounding populations, but the road to the north remained open to Saxon, Frank and Lombard.

In the eighth century, A.D., the great Arab religious movement was initiated. Incited by Mohammed, frenzied leader of

a fanatical religion, the Arabs and their co-religionists quickly conquered Egypt, and proceeding westward from Egypt, in an amazingly short time the remainder of North Africa. Crossing into Spain, the Moslem warriors overran that peninsula, sweeping all before them until they encountered a Teutonic army at Poitiers. To the east, the Moslem conquerors spread through Persia to western India, everywhere imposing their religion upon the inhabitants. From India and from Arabia, the Mohammedans invaded Oceania, profoundly influencing every land which fell before their might. The fanatical Moros of the Philippines, of whose fearlessness American soldiers will bear witness, are Moslems, possibly partly Caucasian in race, a result of the extension of the Mohammedans eastward.

Hurled back from Europe, the Moslem turned to Negro Africa for easy conquest. During the past thousand years they have extended race and influence from the Mediterranean southward to the Negro Belt beyond the Sahara. From the East Coast the Arab influence reached Lake Victoria Nyanza and the headwaters of the Nile. There is but little doubt that Arab Mohammedans crossed the continent of Africa long before Stanley made his memorable journey. From Zanzibar, the Arab established his control on the mainland as far south as the present province of Portuguese East Africa, while his influence spread far inland. At Bwana Mkubwa, Northern Rhodesia, the author was entertained by a Mohammedan negroid chief who wore the customary Moslem fez and robes. This point is probably two thousand five hundred miles south of the Mediterranean and nearly a thousand miles west of the Indian Ocean on the East Coast. That this isolated region should have a negroid Mohammedan aristocracy ruling the purer Negroes is evidence of the widespread Moslem faith in Africa.

Possessed of a religion which encouraged concubinage and plurality of wives, of a faith which drew a religious line—but not a color line—in matrimony, the Caucasian Arab has, throughout the most of Africa, become mongrelized.

In the next great Caucasian migration, Nordics displaced the Semites. Born in Teutonic (Lombard) Italy, Columbus was sent by Teutonic Spaniards (Goths) in search of a western passage to India. The discoveries of Columbus resulted in the migration of Teutonic peoples to North America and of Latins, or mongrel Teutons, to South America. But these migrations are of recent date and do not require further attention at this point.

The important African movement of the Negroes during the historic period is that of the Bantu, whose migrations had carried them southward to the neighborhood of Natal at the time the Portuguese were rounding the Cape of Good Hope; a more recent extension of these people enabled them to reach Cape Town.

From the standpoint of the color problem, with which this volume is more immediately concerned, the important Negro movements of the historic period have been involuntary. Captive Arabs in order to escape servitude to the Portuguese offered, as payment for freedom, to conduct the Portuguese to a land whose people would readily become slaves. It was thus that the Europeans entered the slave trade. The Portuguese at first carried their Negro slaves to the agricultural provinces of Portugal and Spain. But as the colonization of the New World progressed and the Indian proved unsatisfactory in service, there arose a demand for Negro slaves beyond the Atlantic. Other nations—Spanish, Flemish, French, English, Danish, Swedish and North American colonials—entered the slave traffic, which, from the first, was highly remunerative.

As a result of the Negro's enforced migration, there are at present more than twenty millions of African descent in the New World and, if a normal rate of increase continues, there should be approximately sixty millions of Negroes and negroids in the Americas at the end of this century.

Considering China as the racial center of the Mongolian domain, we find to the west and north of the confines of the Chinese peoples proper, a yellow-white hybrid group of Mongolians stretching from Lapland in Europe across Asia to Japan, but dipping southward in Western Asia to include the still more highly Caucasianized Mongoloids, the Turki peoples (Turks). These white-yellow hybrids speak an agglutinating tongue known as Ural-Altaic. The Chinese proper speak a monosyllabic language. To the south and partly to the west of the Chinese proper (Tibet, Siam, French Indo-China), Mongoloids or Chinese mixtures with Caucasic or Negroid people number many millions.

The historic movements of the yellow race assume two main phases—the slow advance in all directions by Chinese colonists and the Mongoloid military irruptions westward into Europe. Chinese and hybrid Caucasians, such as are still found in Manchuria and Korea, reached Japan carrying with them bronze weapons and assimilated or drove northward the stone age Caucasians of that country. Remnants of this primitive

Caucasian people are yet found in the northern island, Yezo. The Mongolian race has readily interbred with all peoples with whom it has come in contact. The next chapter will deal with this phase of the color problem.

CHAPTER III

Hybrids and "Remnants"

WHEN TWO RACES come into contact, one will expel the other from the commonly occupied or desired territory, or the races will adjust their differences through a process of inter-race breeding, creating a mongrel race differing from the parent races but with a tendency to eliminate the specialized characters of the parent races.

This result follows from the expression of biological laws and cannot be altered by educational program, legislative decree, or any amount of philanthropic interest. The characters of the higher race will tend to be obliterated in the mongrels, for the faculties of the higher race, the intellectual qualities which give it pre-eminence, are more specialized. The generalized characters of the lower race will eventually become established in the mongrel. Certain it is that the white race is not sufficiently above culture level to produce a hybrid offspring capable of producing or maintaining higher or civilized culture. Keeping this in mind will enable us to detect the factor determining the decay of culture, which has been planted by the white man in many parts of the world.

From the thousands of years of Caucasian wanderings and conquests as outlined in the preceding chapters, we may now survey the field of race contact. The past will be made more evident if we argue from the known to the unknown.

Within recent centuries there is the example of the Teutonic colonizers of North America demonstrating the solution of a race problem by expulsion. Extermination and amalgamation were resorted to, but only in a minor degree. The Indian wars were but a negligible factor in depleting the Indian's numerical strength, and amalgamation has been of such quantity that it has nowhere materially qualified the Teutonic type. Most mixbreeds between the white and red and the white and black races have, by law or by social custom, been accredited to the non-white races. North America is as yet essentially Caucasian. The Indian and Negro problems still exist in those portions where the races have not been separated.

Within practically the same period, during which Teutonic peoples have occupied the North American continent and retained race purity, Latin peoples, conquerors of South America, have generally sought solution of their race problem by

inter-marriage with the Indians whom they found there and with the Negroes whom they brought from Africa. Thus, it may be seen that the dominant element in the North American solution of race problems is separation of races, while that of South America is inter-breeding of races.

We have ground for satisfaction in that after three hundred years of contact with the Indian and the Negro, the Teutonic type is yet preserved in North America, but it must also be borne in mind that the various sub-stocks of the Caucasian race do not have identical cultural values. The higher culture of the world today is originated and sustained by peoples of the North European breed of Caucasians. If this is accepted as unquestioned fact, what is to be the result of the migration to this country of the millions of Caucasic mongrels from South and Southeastern Europe? Such capacities as they possess they will bequeath to their offspring. Is America to remain North European in race type, or is the race that has wrought the civilization to be qualified later by blood admixture with the hybrids of Southern and Eastern Europe? The "melting pot" process has, for a thousand years, been at white heat in Europe, resulting in fusion of the Nordic with other peoples, those whom he has subjected. The fusion of conquering Nordic with South Europeans has produced the "Latin" type in Europe. It is from the lower elements of the Latin stocks of South Europe and from the Mongolized Alpines of Southeastern Europe that we receive millions of immigrants. The future American is to be qualified by the blood of these immigrants. If America is to perpetuate the breed which has cleared the continent and established civilization, our immigration laws must speedily be remedied. Our institutions are Saxon. Institutions are the expressions of race. If peoples other than those of North European origin continue to be admitted in large numbers, their presence here will be reflected in a modification of institutions in keeping with the modification of the present race type. Apart from their depressing influence upon the economic standards of American labor, these aliens, particularly those from Eastern and Southern Europe, are spreading discontent and revolutionary propaganda. Selfish groups of Americans are truly reaping what they have sowed. That capitalism might succeed in preventing American laborers from concerted action in their struggle for better conditions, the capitalists promoted, first directly and then indirectly, the importation of many millions of inferior race stocks. Now the capitalist appeals to the American laborer of the old school

to save both capital and labor from the capitalist's erstwhile favorites.

The value of the Nordic type is clearly discernible in history. The great cultures of India, Persia, Greece and Rome attest its splendid spiritual and physical qualities. In more recent times, when North Europe "boiled over" and Germanic tribes went from conquest to conquest, many of these tribes amalgamated with their subject peoples. It was the tribes that retained comparative purity which dominated future events. Angles, Saxons, Jutes, later reinforced by Scandinavians, remained comparatively pure in the British Isles, and, too, their mixture there was to some extent with an early Nordic stock which had imposed itself as conqueror upon the submerged brunet Briton. In North France, North Italy and West Russia also, the Nordic element has perpetuated itself. It is just these groups, together with the Nordics of the home land, who have led in modern progress.

It may easily be shown that inter-divisional amalgamation of the white groups has been freely practiced whenever the variant groups have dwelt in common territory. If the more capable Caucasians are reduced in ingenuity and initiative by absorbing the less capable of their own race, how much more certain is it that the Caucasian will suffer loss when absorbing those of a lower race? Let us view the white man's contact with the lower races. Such study will yield astounding results and will deal with a subject the knowledge of which is the most imperative need of civilization today.

The Hamites of North Africa were a branch of the Caucasian race to which the earliest Egyptians belonged.[1] They occupied the northern shores and the eastern prolongation of the continent from remote prehistoric times. The Hamitic (fundamentally so) domain at the present time extends from the Mediterranean southward to or near the equator and along the east coast as far south as British East Africa. At an early date they had migrated southward to the trans-Sahara, while their colonizing migrations westward from the East Coast brought them to the same region. The Sahara does not offer an insurmountable barrier to camel caravans at present, and it is probable that at an earlier period its territory was more thickly settled.

But, however early the Sahara may have become difficult for mass migrations, trans-Sahara, or the semi-arid strip bordering Negro-land, has been accessible from the east during the his-

1 The true Hamites were brunet Caucasians (Mediterraneans).

toric period. It was from the east (Somali- and Gala-land way) that the greater number of Hamites encroached upon Negro Africa.

As they encroached upon the Negro, pressing him southward into the Congo Basin and westward through the forest regions to the Atlantic Coast, creating a succession of borderlands, they everywhere interbred with him; and as a result of the many generations of racial interbreeding, there is south of the Sahara in a vast strip of land covering five degrees of latitude and extending from the Atlantic across the full breadth of Africa to the Indian Ocean, a belt of negroid Hamites. Throughout this belt the Hamitic type is evident, and in some portions of the belt this type still predominates.

Comparatively recent Arab conquests have interspersed Semitic blood generally throughout the Hamitic domain. But the Semite and the Hamite were at a remote date one people. The differentiation between these groups of the Mediterranean race has not been determined so much by evolution as by the Hamites' absorption of Negro blood. That the greater portion of this large and important branch of the white race has been lost to the white world through interbreeding with the Negro is known to the ethnologist and to some historians, but, apart from such specialists, this information is generally lacking.

Not only is the race type of the mixbreed belt south of the Sahara fundamentally Hamitic, especially so in its aristocracies, such as the Hima of Uganda and the Fula of Nigeria, but the language and culture is mainly of Hamitic origin as well. Those languages, designated by some philologists "Sudanese" and spoken by numerous tribes throughout this negroid belt, are essentially Hamitic. By caste or other social aids toward the maintenance of the Caucasic type, certain groups have reigned as aristocrats over the surrounding Negroes. The Hima are a tall, wavy-haired, high-nosed, light-skinned aristocracy who have instituted a system of caste somewhat like that of India. But in Africa, as in Asia, caste has failed to prevent admixture. It is probable that it was not instituted until interbreeding threatened to level aristocrat with subject people.

Crowded back into the inhospitable forest regions—the Congo Basin and the West Coast—the true Negro may, if he has knowledge for such generalization, see himself encircled by mixbreed populations as the result of his age-long retreat before the advancing whites and their later mongrel offspring. Along the northern border is the Sudanese group of mixbreeds. East and south is the Bantu, whose domain "meets the

Sudanese a little north of the Cameroons on the West Coast, and about the end of Lake Albert Nyanza on the east side (within this territory there are some groups hard to distinguish from the true Negro). . . . The Bantu populations show marked modifications of this type (the true Negro) in their lighter color, larger cranial capacity, smaller teeth and less pronounced prognathism. They are also distinctly more intelligent, more civilized, and more capable of upward development than the full blood Negro." . . . The Zulu-Kaffirs of the extreme southeast, who stand out conspicuously in all these respects, "are essentially mixed negroid peoples, the dominant element being undoubtedly Negro, as shown by the universal prevalence of black, woolly hair and dark complexion, besides gross superstition associated with witchcraft of a specially Negro character." Among the Bantus, "every shade of transition is presented between the extreme Negro and the Hamitic type; hence, also, the extreme impossibility of determining a clearly marked Bantu physical type, so that this term has rather a linguistic than an ethnical value."[2]

While the white and the mixed-white have steadily encroached upon the Negro, isolating him, crossing with his race until the mixbreed inhabitants of the continent outnumber the true Negro, massed encroachments alone will not account for the widespread miscegenation. True it is that mongrelization by process of race encroachment has been under way from remote times, and it is by this process that the greater number of mongrels may be accounted for. But there is another and nowise negligible factor in the Negro's distribution north and east, where amalgamation following his dwelling there has resulted in modification of the physical type of the inhabitants. Kidnaping slave-raids dating back to early Egypt and continuing down to the present generation have sent endless caravans of captive Negroes to servitude in northern and eastern Africa and western Asia.

The institution of Negro slavery is of remote origin. It is responsible for the Negro's presence in the New World and in some of the more outlying districts of the Old World. Slavery has visited upon the Negroes great hardship, but it is through slavery that they have had their chief advantage, in that "for the past ten thousand years they have been worried, disciplined, taught and saved by the invading races of the northern hemisphere."[3]

2 *Ethnology*, A. H. Keane, pp. 271–272.
3 Sir H. H. Johnston, *Britain Beyond the Seas*, p. 37.

The white man alone is not responsible for enslavement of the Negro, for the Negro himself has from ancient times held the weaker of his race in enforced servitude; and the mixbreeds who surround the Negro have ever enslaved him. The early era of the European slave trade, begun by the Portuguese, was marked by the purchase of slaves from their Negro or negroid masters, rather than by slave raiding. It is said the North American colonials began the latter practice. This may be true in so far as European slave raiding is concerned, but it is certain that the more powerful Negro tribes resorted to conquest and compulsion to augment their supply of slaves, and it is equally true that the Hamitic and Semitic negroids to the north and east of the Negro domain have ever proved the most cruel of slave hunters, mercilessly destroying the older women and adult males.

We have noted that as a result of the thousands of years of Caucasian contact with Negro Africa a large part of its inhabitants are mixbreeds. The degree of mixture ranges from near-Caucasian to near-Negro. The near-white element has within the past three centuries been considerably augmented in southern Africa by Holland and British colonials interbreeding with Hottentot and Kaffir. But of the vast number of mongrels, only a small per cent are first crossings. An overwhelming majority is the result of the mongrels' reproduction of their kind. The history of Africa and of many other parts of the world seems to discredit the theory that a mongrel people may not endure.

Let us now turn to Asia, the meeting ground of the white and yellow. We saw in the previous chapters that the white race had, in prehistoric times, reached the Pacific by two routes—a northern route passing from Europe across Asia, through Siberia, Mongolia, Manchuria and Korea into Japan; a southern route from North Africa through Asia Minor, Arabia and Persia into India, and from thence by mainland and islands into furthest Polynesia. It is along these routes that white-hybrid peoples will be found. The northern route, from Lapland to Japan, is characterized by white-yellow hybrids, but along the southern route the white man came into contact with the Negro as well as the Mongolian.

We have seen also that the Mongolian race is composed of two divisions, a northern and a southern. These divisions are well marked physically. They are classified as "Siberic" and southeast, by yellow-white-black hybrids. The beginning of "Sinitic" (Brinton), speak different tongues and are possessed

of a radically different history. The difference in physical appearance, language and history has been determined, in the main, by Caucasian blood, which is prevalent in the northern group but which only slightly modifies the southern. From the standpoint of their geographical distribution the Mongolian peoples are essentially a mongrel race, the greater part of their vast territory being occupied by yellow-white, or, in the south such admixture dates from early times and is continuing everywhere at present.

In discussing the distribution of the Mongolian race, Keane says, "after the separation [he is alluding to that remote time when Homo Mongolicus separated from the human prototype of all the races] the parent stem continued to spread over a great part of the continent, reaching its extreme eastern limits probably in the paleolithic age, passing later southward into Malaysia, and penetrating in neolithic times into Europe, but apparently not into Africa. This early expansion of the Mongol race, of which there is monumental proof in Mesopotamia and abundant ethnical proof in Indo-China and the Amur basin, brought about fresh groupings and interminglings, not only with kindred tribes, but also with Caucasic peoples, who had already at remote times spread from their primeval homes in North Africa and Europe eastward to Japan, southeastward to India and Indo-China, and thence to Malaysia, Australia and Polynesia. Thus arose not only on the confines, but in the very heart of the Mongol domain, those Mongoloid and Caucasian aberrant groups, such as the Malaysian Indonesians, the Mesopotamian Akkads, the Dravidians of the Indian Peninsula, the Urgian Finns, the Turki peoples, wrongly called Tartars, all of whom are found fully constituted long before the dawn of history. . . . In the presence of distinctly fair types and regular 'European' features in Manchuria, Korea, Yezo (Japan), Turkestan, parts of Siberia, and Malaysia, the assumption must be abandoned that these regions have always been the exclusive appanage of the yellow race."[4]

The white-yellow mongrels composing the Siberic subdivision of the Mongolian race, "all of whom were fully constituted long before the dawn of history," are in turn being subjected to continuous modification of physical type along their western border, where they are in contact with the white man of Europe and western Asia, and along their eastern front where they are in contact with the Chinese. The Siberic subdivision as classified by Brinton, comprises four groups, the

4 *Ethnology*, pp. 297–299.

Finnic (Finnish, Lappish, Magyar, Bulgarian); Tartaric (Turkish, Cossack, etc.); Japanese (Japanese, Korean); Mongolic (Kalmuk).

We cannot grasp the essentials of the color problem without having first appreciated the influence of Caucasian blood in mixbreed races of the world. The so-called Mongolians, who have on more than one occasion invaded Europe, were not yellows, but yellow-white hybrids. From *Dictionary of Races or Peoples* (see Reports of the U.S. Immigration Commission, 1911) we get the following: "The eastern Finns, although speaking languages similar to the western Finns, are widely different from the latter in blood, and to a great extent in civilization. The western Finns are Caucasian rather than Mongolian in appearance. The Magyars (Hungarians) are related linguistically to the Turks and Japanese; all of these belong to the great Siberic stock. But physically the Magyars and the Finns of today are not Mongolian as much as Caucasian. Because of mixture with Caucasian people, they have deviated more widely from the ancient type than have the Turks. While these latter are becoming Southern Europeans, the Magyars are often blonds, yet not so generally as are the Finns.

"Then there is an undoubted white strain in Japan. The Ainus, the earliest inhabitants of Japan, are one of the most truly Caucasian people in appearance in eastern Asia. . . . The 'fine' type of the aristocracy, the Japanese ideal, as distinct from the 'coarse' type, recognized by students of the Japanese of today, is perhaps due to the Ainus."

Race amalgamation, so long important in Asia, is continuing to bring the inhabitants of that continent to a uniform level. In Japan, the Ainu is slowly disappearing. On the eastern mainland, the Manchus (white-yellow hybrids) "are being absorbed more and more by the Chinese." And the Korean, "who with the Japanese form a distinctly physical group and are linguistically more nearly related to the European Mongolians (partly white)" have, until the occupation of Korea by Japan as a result of the Russo-Japanese war, undergone extensive modification by mixing with the Chinese.

And so with the Sinitic or southern division of the Mongolians. The Chinese, migrating westward and southward, have constantly practiced miscegenation, and are continuing to do so at the present time. Southward, they have come into contact with the primitive Caucasian elements, which at a remote time had reached southeastern Asia, and with negroid

elements on the mainland and in Oceania.

Add to the parts of Europe, Asia, Africa, and Oceania, which are peopled by mongrels rather than by pure races, large portions of the Western World, which, before the coming of the modern European, were peopled by yellow-white hybrids (the American Indians) and we may realize the geographical extent of race admixture.

The white race, towering high above others in cultural capacities and possessed of an untamable restlessness, has been the chief factor in world-wide mongrelization. There is no doubt as to this conclusion. Before the all-conquering Caucasian, and his hybrid offspring, the Negro proper has been forced into, and confined to, restricted areas in Africa; the true Mongolian, to the southeast of Asia. There are, of course, exceptions to this broad generalization, but it is true as to tendency. The Negro is represented in the New World, but his presence here was determined by the white man.

It remains to be considered what are the characteristics of these great mongrel masses, the result of early and later contact of races.

The known laws of biology would lead us to the conclusion that mongrelization results not so much in a blending of the race traits and capacities of the races which are parties to the crossing, as a domination of the traits and capacities of the lower or more generalized race. The heredity of the race more nearly representative of primitive man will prevail. The character of the mongrel is a mosaic, an aggregation of hereditary influences, conforming generally to the lower race, but disturbed by the urge inhering in the germ plasm of the higher. This explains why the mongrel's ability is but little above the lower race and accounts for the instability of the mongrel.

The demonstrated cultural capacities of the mongrel races will enable us also to determine with reasonable certainty the results of physical crossing which, of necessity, entails qualifications of the cultural capacities. If the history of the mongrel "races" conforms to this critical method of adjudging their characteristics, there is then no reasonable doubt that the results of mongrelization may be observed.

There are two outstanding characteristics of these mongrel races which, it would seem, are clearly discernible from their history. They are essentially unstable in their cultural activities, and are fundamentally predacious. The civilized cultures they have acquired they have not maintained, and they have shown, everywhere and at all times, ferociousness in combat and heart-

lessness in conquest. Rivers of blood and the utmost desolation have marked the history of negroid Africa, and the continent yet trembles at the mention of her Metsas and Dingaans, while modern Europe stigmatizes terrible conquerors as "Huns."

The Turks, "founders of vast but unstable empires" (Keane), have exhibited throughout their history both the predaciousness and the instability of the mongrel. The late Lord Bryce, former British ambassador to the United States, following the Allies' peace note to President Wilson, said, with regard to that portion of the note which demanded the expulsion of the Turk from Europe, "The Turk has never been of any use for any purpose except for fighting. He cannot administer, though in his earlier days he had the sense to employ intelligent Christian administrators. He cannot secure justice. As a governing power he has always shown himself incapable, corrupt and cruel. He has always destroyed; he has never created."[5]

While the mongrel has not distinguished himself in the creative arts he has proved himself, when armed with the white man's inventions, a menace to civilized culture. This is as true in eastern Asia today as in western Asia four hundred to a thousand years ago.

We could expect a fusion of the peaceful Chinese and the aggressive Caucasians to produce a mongrel race less stable than the Chinese, but more resourceful. From the Caucasian standpoint, such fusion should impart stability to the mixbreeds, though they might be lessened in resourcefulness. This has not occurred for the reason that, though Caucasian blood imparts restlessness and resourcefulness, there is not sufficient stability of character in the mongrel to maintain the advantage derived from the energy acquired. This is, in part, an explanation of the lack of advantage the Mongolo-Caucasian mongrels seemingly should derive as a result of the mixture. Their constructive and conserving qualities are not in keeping with their predaciousness, which has always given them advantages which they cannot utilize. But there is another causation, derived from their cultural contact with the white race, which is more important than the physical factor in giving the hybrid advantage which cannot be utilized. The hybrid's success against the white has been due to the white man's inventions in the hands of the hybrid.

Had the Turks, who in the World War expelled the British

1 *Washington Post*, January 17, 1917.

from the Gallipoli Peninsula, been compelled to rely upon implements of warfare such as they themselves could produce, how different would have been the result of the British invasion? But, instead of relying upon their own ingenuity, they relied wholly upon the inventions of the white man. Courage is not the monopoly of any race, and when an intellectually inferior race becomes equipped with the white man's most destructive implements and meets the white man in contest, the issue of battle may place the mongrel in a position above his intellectual level, a position which he cannot maintain, hence the instability of mongrel empires. At Gallipoli, as so often in the past, mongrel peoples have not only attained artificial superiority over the white man by use of the white man's inventions, but have been led by white men as well. This factor must not be overlooked if we are to appraise correctly Mongoloid successes against the Caucasian.

Most of our information concerning the early history of the races has been attained during the past century. It is also within this period that the Caucasian of Europe and America has come into permanent contact with the outlying portions of the world. As the mixing of races has been occurring whenever there has been race contact, it is an interesting bit of information to learn that even in the more remote portions, where hybridization is the rule, there are yet some small groups of white and black folk who, though in contact with other peoples for many centuries, have not been submerged by the process of amalgamation. These groups have been called "remnants" (Alfred Wallace). They are in reality remnants. The Ainus of Japan (now in a pure state only in the north) are yet essentially a Caucasian people. Groups of pure Negroes (pygmies), unmixed with yellow or white people, still exist both on the mainland in South Asia and in Oceania.

In summarizing the result of the contact of races, it will be easier to describe the geographical location of the pure races. The white man is in the greater part of Europe, some parts of northern and western Asia and northern Africa, in portions of the New World, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and other less important places where his recent migrations have carried him. The yellow man holds the greater portion of southeastern Asia. The pure Negro is confined in certain restricted areas in Africa and in other continents where the white man has carried him in recent centuries. The rest of the world belongs to the mongrel.

"The large number of black women found in the harems of

the rich, and even in the huts of the common people, quickly impaired the purity of the race, even among the upper classes of the nation, and the type began to resemble that of the Negro tribes of Equatorial Africa. The language fared no better in the face of this invasion, and the written characters soon became as corrupt as the language. The taste for art decayed; technical ability began to deteriorate. The moral and intellectual standards declined and the mass of the people showed signs of relapsing into barbarism." (Maspero, *History of Egypt,* p. 260, said of the southern provinces of the Egyptian Empire.)

"Where the white man has not absolutely cleared the ground of his colored rival, he may be bred down to a position of inferiority."—B. L. Putnam Weale, *The Conflict of Color.*

CHAPTER IV

Civilizations That Have Perished Through Contact with Colored Races: Egypt

The ancient Egyptian's absorption of Negro blood is so remote in its beginning that some historians, mistaking later mixture for the original stock, held the Egyptians to have been negroid in origin. More recent investigations have brought much light upon the physical type of the earliest inhabitants of the Nile Valley, and Egyptologists are now agreed that the early type was Caucasic and the negroid admixture is subsequent to the period of Egypt's greatness.

The best known authority upon Negro history (Sir Harry Johnston) tells us that the Egyptians were a Caucasian people and that their early contact with the Negro imparted to that race all the arts of civilization they possessed up to the coming of the Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and modern Europeans to the continent of Africa. Breasted, who is second to no other authority in matters pertaining to early Egypt, recognizes the early date of the beginnings of this admixture with the Negro peoples to the south of Egypt, but dismisses the assumption that the Egyptians were themselves a negroid people with "The conclusion once maintained by some historians, that the Egyptians were of African Negro origin, is now refuted."[1]

After following the history of Egypt during the period of greatness and through the decay to the time mulattoes were sitting upon the throne of the once illustrious Pharaohs, Breasted recognizes that Negro blood had reached the aristocracy, and concludes that it was this blood which rendered the negroid dynasty unfit for progress. "It was indeed now patent that the Ethiopians were unfitted for the imperial task now before them. The southern strain with which their blood was tinctured began to appear as the reign of Shabatka drew to a close, about 688 B.C."[2]

The consolidation of the kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt by Menes, the first Pharaoh, occurred 3400 years B.C. The accession of Teharka, a mulatto, to the throne occurred about 688 B.C. "It was at this juncture that we can trace the

1 James Henry Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 28.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 554.

rising fortunes of Prince Teharka, . . . he was the son of a Nubian woman, and his features, as preserved in contemporary sculpture, show unmistakably negroid characteristics." (*Ibid.*, p. 554.) There is, then, an interval of some twenty-seven centuries between the first Pharaoh and the date when a mulatto inherits the throne. It was of this period, when negroids were upon the throne, that Isaiah foresaw the downfall of Egypt. "At the same time spake the Lord by Isaiah, the son of Amos, saying, Go and loose the sackcloth from off thy loins, and put off thy shoe from thy foot. And he did so, walking naked and barefoot. And the Lord said, Like as my servant Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot three years for a sign and wonder upon Egypt and upon Ethiopia; so shall the king of Assyria lead away the Egyptians prisoners and the Ethiopians captives, young and old, naked and barefoot." (*Isaiah* 20.)

It was also of the Ethiopian supremacy that the officer of Sennacherib spoke to the ambassadors of Jerusalem, "Now, behold, thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt; on which if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it: so is Pharaoh king of Egypt unto all that trust on him." (*II Kings,* 18:21.)

In seeking an ally against the Assyrians, the Jews were drawn to depend upon Egypt. In earlier times the fame of Egypt, its highly developed civilization, had cast a spell upon the ancient world. Remembering its might and glory, and unaware of its present impotence, the Jews sought the aid of Egypt in their contest with the Assyrians.

A survey of this ancient civilization will show that its great achievements were in the earlier centuries. There was a prolonged period of decline. The inhabitants lost initiative and ingenuity, and at the coming of the Assyrians they could offer but feeble resistance. We will understand the situation if we grasp the fact that Egyptian civilization was not overthrown; it *decayed*. The trouble was internal.

Material of the greatest importance, which determines conclusively the race type of the earliest Egyptians known to history, is so recent in its discovery that few of the standard authors on Egyptian history have been able to profit by it. Explorations and excavations by Americans operating in Egypt have contributed much to this field of knowledge. Working mainly upon the results of the Hearst Expedition of the University of California, under direction of Dr. Reisner of Harvard, Professor G. Elliott Smith of England has published a small but valuable volume dealing with the physical type of

the Egyptian people from the earliest times to the builders of the pyramids. With this, and kindred information, we know the race lineage of the Egyptians as well as if these ancient people were in our presence.

"The hot, dry sands of Egypt have preserved through a span of more than sixty centuries the remains of countless multitudes of the earliest peoples known to have dwelt in the Nile Valley; and not the mere bones only, but also their skin, and hair, the muscles and organs of the body; and even such delicate tissues as the nerves and the brain, and, most marvelous of all, the lens of the eye, are available for examination today. We are able to form a very precise idea of the structure of the body of the Proto-Egyptian (First Egyptians) . . . it presented no resemblance whatever to the so-called 'woolly' appearance and peppercorn-like arrangement of the Negro's hair."[3]

Of the remains exhumed, not more than two per cent showed definitely a Negro admixture, and possibly an additional two per cent showed a suspicion of Negro blood. That this percentage, small as it is, is found in the prehistoric burial grounds is ample evidence of the remoteness of Egyptian contact with the Negro. We see how unfounded is the assumption that the early Egyptians were of African Negro extraction. Yet the remoteness of the first interbreedings with the Negro is well calculated to have led some authorities astray. It is as if some future archaeologist should explore the ruins of present day Washington, find that one-fourth of its inhabitants were Negroes, and conclude that the Americans of the great civilization were of Negro extraction. The proportion of the Negro here would be twelve times as great as in Ancient Egypt. Should he attribute the civilization of America to the Negro because of these remains? Would not the archaeologist be in keeping with American history if he stated that the Negro resided in America, enjoyed the emoluments of its civilization, but did not contribute an impulse to its progress?

The Egyptians were of the brunet race we now call "Mediterranean." They were not Negroes, nor were they Nordics, though individuals of both of these races were present. By reason of the fact that it is not to environment, but to race, that we must look for the major factor in the rise of great cultures, there has been a willingness on the part of some authorities to stress the Nordic influence in the higher Egyp-

[3] *The Ancient Egyptians and Their Influence Upon European Civilization*, 1911, by G. Eliott Smith, Professor of Anatomy in the University of Manchester, England.

tian culture. Apart from the engineering skill shown in the building of the temples and pyramids the culture of the early centuries does not imply the influence of a race other than the Mediterranean. Pure Mediterraneans at the present time manifest cultural activities analagous to those of the ancient Egyptians. It is not sufficient to say that the present inhabitants do not contribute to cultural advancement, whereas the ancient Egypians were leaders in civilization; for the present inhabitants of Egypt are not the pure descendants of the ancient Egyptians. The most highly constituted race, the most developed physically and intellectually, may, within a few generations, breed backward in the scale of evolution by absorbing the blood of an inferior race. Breeding backward! This is the nemesis of great cultures. Let us bear in mind that there is no natural law affecting mankind which necessitates retrogression in mind or body.

While the blood of the early Egyptian is well diffused throughout Egypt, it is significant that the Copts, who are the purest representatives of the pre-Moslem Egyptian, are distinctly negroid, more so than a large proportion of the Semitic newcomers.

As we know that the great mass of the people were of the Mediterranean race, the most that can be said with regard to the higher culture being influenced by foreigners is that such influence was through the aristocracy. The periods of creative activity which Egypt has experienced since the coming of the Assyrians and Persians did not have origin in the Egyptians proper, but were instituted by foreign aristocracies of whose coming and activities we have ample knowledge.

Alien aristocracies gave to India, Persia, Greece and Rome their creative periods; and with the passing away of these aristocracies there is an accompanying subsidence of culture. Also, we have before us at present numerous examples of foreigners, or people semi-foreign in race and institutions, imposing their degree of civilization upon less capable races. The electric lights and railways of India; the Suez Canal and Aswan Dam of Egypt; the mines and plantations of Africa; the entire progress, economic, political and social, of the two Americas have their source in a people who are alien in race to the earlier inhabitants of these countries over whom they rule in fact, if not in theory, as an aristocracy.

We have seen that the Egyptians of the creative period were of the white race. It now remains for us to trace in outline their great culture in order to appreciate the heights from

which they fell. At the same time, we will keep in mind that the Egyptian civilization *decayed*. When the Asiatic conquerors (white people—Assyrians and Persians) came, they found a corrupted mass bearing the name Egyptian, ruled by a mulatto Pharaoh.

Drawing, in the main, upon "History of Egypt" (Breasted)[14] but disclaiming any purpose to identify this authority with any opinion here presented, save inasmuch as data given by him is inseparable from the conclusions we reach, we now will observe the salient outlines of Egyptian culture.

Thirty-four hundred years B.C. the kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt were consolidated under the rule of Menes, the first Pharaoh. It was the Northern Kingdom, the Delta region, farthest removed from the Negro to the south and in close contact with the other white peoples of North Africa and Asia Minor, that at the time of the consolidation was most advanced. "That civilization was probably earlier and more advanced than that of the valley above. Already in the forty-third century B.C., the men of the Delta had discovered the year of three hundred and sixty-five days and they introduced a calendar year of this length. . . . It is the civilization of the Delta, therefore, which furnishes us with the earliest fixed date in the history of the world."[5]

This same Menes, who appears in history as the first Pharaoh, "carried his arms southward against northern Nubia, which then extended below the first cataract as far northward as the nome of Edfu and built a dam above the city of Memphis to divert the waters of the Nile to gain more room for that city. The swamp lands of the Delta were being reclaimed as before the consolidation of the two kingdoms, and the rich lands obtained drew to the Delta a rapidly increasing population."[6]

The first Pharaoh is seen to have reigned over a people able to divert the waters of the Nile, reclaim the swamp lands of the Delta, and, important for our consideration, to wage a warfare against the negroid peoples of Nubia. The inhabitants of Nubia were less negroid at this and earlier periods. Some authorities think that the draining of the Delta swamps led to a rapid movement of the inhabitants northward to that re-

4 *History of Egypt, from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest*, by James Henry Breasted, Professor of *Egyptology* and Oriental History in the University of Chicago, Second Edition, 1909. The value of this work is not surpassed by any publication dealing with early Egypt.

5 Breasted, James Henry, *History of Egypt*, p. 32.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 37.

gion, leaving behind the more feeble, and that these latter were not able to stem the migration into Nubia of the highly negroid populations which connected white Egypt with Negro Africa.[7]

That portion of Egyptian history covered by the reign of the Pharaohs is divided into thirty dynasties or family reigns. The greater number of these families were related more or less closely by blood ties. Space prevents detailed reference to the material culture of the unknown period of time referred to as the Predynastic Age. The first Pharaoh, Menes, came into possession of a kingdom far removed from barbaric conditions. We are not to trace a civilization in its rudiments, but one possessing an already well established background of tradition and attainment.

In addition to those attainments implied in the activities already mentioned, the people under the first Pharaoh are known to have used not only the hieroglyphic, but a cursive hand as well, and thus to have antedated by more than twenty-five hundred years the use of alphabetic signs by any other people.

The Second Dynasty erected stone temples. Namar, an early king, took 120,000 Libyans captive, and of their herds "one million four hundred and twenty thousand small, and four thousand large cattle." There is evidence that "the kings of this time maintained foreign relations with far remoter people" than the Bedouins of the Sinaitic Peninsula, and that they were in commercial relations with the peoples of the northern Mediterranean in the fourth millennium B.C.

Dynasties three to six inclusive (2928–2475 B.C.) form that period known as the Old Kingdom. In religion, government, society, industry, and art, the Old Kingdom is revealed as a well-constituted state, exhibiting rapidly developing culture, physical and spiritual, superior to the culture of the dynasties to follow.

The Egyptians were a religious people, who at this remote date devoutly believed in the resurrection of the body after death and in the immortality of the soul. Osiris was their god of the dead, "king of the glorified." Of a just man they said, "As Osiris lives, so shall he live; as Osiris died not, so shall he also not die; as Osiris perished not, so shall he also not perish."[8] They believed that a ferryman would row the departed to the land of the glorified, but that this ferryman would

7 G. E. Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians.*

8 From the "Pyramid Texts," engraved upon the passages of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty pyramids, Breasted, *History of Egypt,* pp. 66–77.

receive only those of whom it was said "There is no evil which he has done." This is the "earliest record of an ethical test at the close of life making the life hereafter dependent upon the moral quality of the life lived in this world." It will doubtless surprise the average reader to learn that such exalted religious teachings were held by the Egyptians more than four thousand years ago. At a later period their religion became debased, "the animal worship which we usually associate with ancient Egypt, as a cult, is a late product, brought forward in the decline of the nation at the close of its history."[9]

Turning from the high spiritual conceptions of the ancient Egyptians we are struck with no less wonder when we behold their social and material culture. Within the home, the wife was in every respect the equal of the husband, and was treated as such. Filial affection and obedience to parents were enjoined upon all youths, and a favorite tomb inscription was, "I was one beloved of his father, praised of his mother, whom his brothers and sisters loved."

But it is not in their religious or their social attainments that the Early Egyptians were most conspicuous. Their use of metal tools dates back to such early times that some capable authorities assert that the Egyptians initiated the Age of Metals. Let us not fail to appreciate the importance of such a step in the history of man. Prior to the invention of metal implements, the tools used in the industries and the arts were those made from stone, reed and bone. Consider the limitations upon the individual and upon the nation imposed by such possessions. It required infinite patience to fashion these tools and to make advantageous use of them. Industrial progress, of necessity, would be slow. But with the use of metals, industry would take a rapid course upward, and the people in possession of such culture would become strong in war as well as in the arts of peace. So Egypt's visible greatness descends to us as the result of the early use of metal tools. "They brought from the first cataract granite blocks twenty or thirty feet long and fifty or sixty tons in weight. They drilled the toughest stone, like diorite, with tubular drills of copper, and the massive lids of the granite sarcophagi were sawn with long copper saws, which, like the drills, were reinforced with sand or emery."

With creative genius awakened, and conscious of their constructive talent, the Egyptians sought yet greater triumphs. Their kings, through a not always generous rivalry, wished to build imperishable monuments to their power, and this desire

9 See also, *Race or Mongrel*, by Alfred Schultz, chap. "Egypt."

to live in the eyes of posterity gradually found expression in the pyramid tomb. A succeeding Pharaoh, viewing the tombs of his predecessors and profiting by the increase of wealth and architectural knowledge, would demand a yet greater monument to his glory. The existing generation would subscribe to his aspiration, for the pyramids were recognized as national achievements. So the age of the mighty pyramids was ushered in. These are the most conspicuous evidence of Egyptian greatness; and in the ability of the engineers in planning and overseeing, and the organized power of the Pharaohs in bringing them to perfection, we catch a glimpse of the Caucasian civilizers of Egypt which must forever impress us with the height of their power and make it an absorbing study to discover the causation of their decline.

Zoser, the first Pharaoh of the "Old Kingdom" (2980–2475 B.C.) made his capital at Memphis. It was the Old Kingdom "in which art and mechanics reached a level of unprecedented excellence never later surpassed." With Zoser, as with Menes (3400 B.C.), we have record of the extension of Egyptian influence over the mulatto tribes of Nubia. At the accession of Menes, the Nubian frontier extended northward beyond the nome of Edfu. During the reign of Zoser, Egyptian conquest had quelled the turbulent mongrel tribes of Northern Nubia; and peaceful navigation of the Nile was possible for a distance of seventy-five miles south of the first cataract. From Menes to Zoser intervene more than four hundred years. Within these four centuries the southern frontier had been extended but little. Sesostris III of the Twelfth Dynasty, who came to the throne 1887 B.C., completed the conquest of Nubia. Between Menes and Sesostris III there is a period of fifteen hundred years. This evidence of the slow conquest and absorption of the negroids to the south of Egypt should not escape our attention. These centuries cover the period of Egypt's greatness. Egypt was still white! During this period, and before it, the Egyptians were in constant contact with the Libyans to their west and with other Caucasian peoples to their north and east. From these they gave and received, and their civilization flourished. Their extension southward was slow, very slow, and to this they owed their long-lived civilization.

Before the time of Zoser, the royal tombs were constructed of sun-dried brick, but this king, desiring a more auspicious and permanent memorial, built a terraced pyramid of stone 195 feet in height. He became the first Pyramid Builder. Later kings of this dynasty erected the great stone pyramids of

Dashur and Sneferu, and the last king constructed vessels 170 feet long for traffic on the Nile.

Across the Nile from modern Cairo (ancient Gizeh) the numerous tourists who frequent Egypt will get their first glimpse of the might and power of the civilization that has perished. There, among others, is the Great Pyramid, built by Khufu (Cheops). This is the mighty structure near which is located the Sphinx, the pictorial representations of which have long been familiar to the civilized world. "How strong and effective must have been the organization of Khufu's government we appreciate in some measure when we learn that this pyramid contains some two million three hundred thousand blocks, each weighing on the average two and a half tons. . . . The blocks were taken out of the quarries on the east side of the river south of Cairo, and at high water, when the flats were flooded, they were floated across the valley to the base of the pyramid hill. Here an enormous stone ramp or causeway had been erected, a labor of ten years, if we are to believe Herodotus, and up this incline the stones were dragged to the plateau upon which the pyramid stands. Not merely was this work quantitatively so formidable, but in quality, also, it is the most remarkable material enterprise known to us in this early world, for the most ponderous masonry in the pyramid amazes us by its fineness. . . . The pyramid is, or was, about four hundred and eighty-one feet high, and on its square base measured some seven hundred and fifty-five feet on a side, but the average error is 'less than ten thousandths of the side in equality, in squareness and in level.' . . . Some of the masonry finish is so fine that blocks weighing tons are set together with seams of considerable length, showing a joint of one ten-thousandth of an inch and involving edges and surfaces equal to opticians' work of the present day, but on a scale of acres rather than feet or yards of material."

From the great pyramids let us turn to other activities which give insight into the wide range of Egyptian culture. The sculpture of the Old Kingdom exhibits the highest technical skill, and compares favorably with the work of modern artists. The temples of the period mark the greatest architectural attainments. Egypt is the source of columnated architecture. This country, at the close of the fourth millennium B.C., had "solved the fundamental problems of great architecture, developing with the most refined artistic sense and the greatest mechanical skill the treatment of voids." The art of weaving was highly developed, so much so that the fabrics are a source

of wonder to the modern beholder, while the goldsmiths were capable of producing the most exquisite ornaments, many of which have survived to the present day.

Toward the close of the Old Kingdom there is evidence of the weakening of the central power, but Egyptian culture did not suffer. Race is more than politics, religion or art. These are but the expression of race.

The rise of the official class to greater influence and the consequent lessening of the Pharaoh's power would not then, of itself, have led to a lessening of cultural activities. Instead, this period was "of significant political development, and in material civilization one of distinct progress. Art and industry flourished as before, and great works of Egyptian sculpture were produced."

The Sixth Dynasty, last of the Old Kingdom, marks a foreign policy of increasing vigor. The Negro tribes of the south were compelled to contribute quotas to the Egyptian armies; and the use of these levies against white neighbors with whom the Egyptians were at war marks an unsavory epoch in the history of the contact of races. The non-creative races, compelled to rely upon their own resources in war or in peace, are insignificant competitors with the white man. But armed with the white man's inventions, they are tranformed into formidable competitors, immediately attaining rank which evolutionary forces have not conferred upon them and assuming an influence which they are incapable of maintaining. The Pharaohs' use of multitudes of Negro troops against the enemies of Egypt had much to do with the final decay of Egyptian civilization. This custom continued for centuries. It became so universal that the Egyptian word for soldier is derived from the name of a powerful Negro tribe long accustomed to furnishing levies for the Egyptian armies. "We know little of the Negro and negroid tribes who inhabited the cataract region at this time. Immediately south of the Egyptian frontier dwelt the tribes of Wawat, extending well towards the second cataract, above which the entire region of the upper cataracts was known as Kush. . . . In the upper half of the huge 'S' formed by the course of the Nile between the junction of the two Niles and the second cataract, was included the territory of the powerful Mazoi, who afterward appeared as auxiliaries in the Egyptian armies in such numbers that the Egyptian word for soldier ultimately became 'Matoi,' a late (Coptic) form of Mazoi. Probably on the west of the Mazoi was the land of Yam, and between Yam and Mazoi on the

south and Wawat on the north, were distributed several tribes, of whom Irthet and Sethut were the most important. . . . They dwelt in squalid settlements of mud huts along the river, or by wells in the valleys running up country from the Nile."[10]

The Old Kingdom ended with the Sixth Dynasty (2475 B.C.). Space will not permit an attempt to portray the heights of Egyptian culture during that succeeding period known as the Empire. Let us omit, say, a thousand years of history and search for light upon the Egyptian Negro problem. This omission will bring us to approximately 1500 B.C. The Negro policy of the Empire will be found to be not radically different from that of the white nations now ruling Africa. We do not believe that the modern European has taken a leaf out of Egyptian history and modeled his Negro policy accordingly, but there is a striking similarity in method and intent. "Egyptian temples had now sprung up at every large town, and the Egyptian gods were worshiped therein; the Egyptian arts were learned by Nubian craftsmen, and everywhere the rude barbarism of the upper Nile was receiving the stamp of Egyptian culture. Nevertheless, the native chieftains, under the surveillance of the viceroys, were still permitted to retain their titles and honors, and doubtless continued to enjoy at least a nominal share in the government. . . . The annual landing of the viceroy of Thebes, bringing the yearly tribute of all the Nubian lands, was now a long established custom."

The gradual diffusion of Caucasian culture and the utilization of native chiefs, under direction of white colonial governors, was characteristic of the first attempt to implant civilization in Negro Africa, as it is of the present effort on the part of modern white nations.

We have seen that the earliest period of Egyptian history reveals a slight negroid mixture in the populations of southern Egypt. Possibly some five per cent of the inhabitants were Negroes or tinged with Negro blood. At the period we now have under consideration (1500 B.C.), there is no way in which it is possible to tell the exact extension of Negro blood, but as Egyptians were constantly going into the South and peoples from the South constantly coming into Egypt proper, it is not likely that more than half of the population of the southern half of Egypt was still white. Blood admixture has without exception been the inevitable result of long continued race contact; and, as we know that a mulatto inherited the

10 The names and locations of these tribes will be of service in understanding the next chapter.

throne a few centuries later, a guess that forty or fifty per cent of the population was negroid should be considered conservative. Constant immigration from west and east, armed and peaceful, had augmented the Caucasic element, and this would have tended to prolong the civilization.

Now, if we drop down another long period (800 years), we shall have passed through the age of decay to the point where a mulatto has become the Pharaoh.

From prehistoric time the Negro had sifted into the country. Many thousands came as soldiers for the Pharaohs of old, just as some modern rulers of Europe found it less costly to employ Negro mercenaries than white troops. Countless numbers had come as slaves—many included in the yearly tribute of the southern dependencies—others as captives taken in war; while the large levies for purposes of labor, even if not forcibly retained by Egyptian authorities, would find the Egyptian environment superior to their squalid settlements, and seek to remain.

Certain of the Pharaohs sought to prevent the mongrelization of Egypt by restricting Negro immigration, even to the extent of inflicting the death penalty upon the immigrant. But the Negro was a docile, subservient workman and soldier, and these characteristics created a demand to the influence of which less enlightened Pharaohs succumbed. So they came for centuries; not by force of arms in battle array, but as a subjugated and enslaved people. That the blood of a people who had not produced a civilization should have been instrumental in lowering the status of the Egyptians so that progress ceased, is a lamentable event in world history. Negro blood made the proud Egyptian a mongrel. For three thousand years the same Nile has flowed, the same richly laden soils from its upper reaches annually have inundated the land, but the negroid Egyptian has known no progress. Thirty centuries have demonstrated that the mulatto of the Lower Nile, like the true Negro of its equatorial branches, is below the level of progress. The Caucasian at best progresses but slowly—mixed with the Negro he progresses not at all.

The Moslem Arab's conquest of North and East Africa has resulted generally in the mongrelization of the Arab. Thus is added another culture of the Caucasian race engulfed by miscegenation. The comparatively recent interbreeding of the Arab with his African subjects is an event which may serve to illustrate the factor determining the decay of early Egyptian culture.

CHAPTER V

Civilizations That Have Perished Through Contact with Colored Races: Egypt — Continued

Inscriptional Evidence of the Remoteness and the Continuity of Egyptian Contact With the Negro

"In Egypt there is an immense mass of pictorial and sculptural material for ethnological study covering a range of many centuries. Over three thousand years ago the artists who decorated the royal tombs distinguished between four races: the Egyptians, the Asiatics, the Negroes and the Western and North Europeans."[1]

The Egyptian artists also pictured Negroes of different degrees of purity. The Canaanites of the Bible, described as a tall people (*Deut.* 9:2), are shown as blond. Of the four "races" as mentioned, three in reality are members of what is popularly called the "Caucasian race."

It is not, however, with pictorial or sculptural evidence that we are primarily concerned. In the introduction to his translations of the *Ancient Records of Egypt*,[2] Breasted says, "The volumes do not deal with the product of the artist and craftsman as such, but the written documents from which the history may be drawn today."

It should be made clear that the quotations from these volumes bearing upon the prolonged contact of the white Egyptians with the Negro peoples to the south, which it is possible to include in the scope of this chapter, are but a minor proportion of those available. From the time of the consolidation of the kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt by Menes (3400 B.C.), to the final decay and overthrow of the kingdom of the Pharaohs, is a period of approximately three thousand years, and this period is divided into possibly thirty dynasties. But it is in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty that the mulatto Taharka inher-

1 A. C. Haddon, *The Study of Man*, p. 13.

2 *Ancient Records of Egypt*, in four volumes, by James Henry Breasted, Professor of Egyptology and Oriental History in the University of Chicago.

its the throne of the once powerful Pharaohs, that his sister is the divine head of the Egyptian religion, which in these centuries has become grossly debased, and that the mulatto king's Nubian mother becomes a Queen Mother before whom all bow down. For a period prior to the accession of the mulatto Pharaoh (Taharka) the civilization of Egypt was stagnant, while those dynasties succeeding Taharka's reign were imposed by foreigners, conquerors of Egypt.

In order to obtain documentary evidence of the constant intermingling of Egyptians and Negroes during the age of Egyptian greatness and decay, we may arbitrarily select certain dynasties and look to their records. As the preceding chapter included a discussion of the predynastic inhabitants and the racial character of those of the earliest dynasties, we will now select the sixth, twelfth, eighteenth, and, as the twenty-fourth covered only six years, the twenty-fifth dynasties. This will enable us to cover more than fifteen centuries of Egyptian history—from the creative works of white Egypt in the Old Kingdom to the decayed and stagnant culture of negroid rule of the twenty-fifth dynasty.

Not only will we find it impossible to include from the available records of these dynasties all references bearing upon the Egyptians' dealing with the Negro, but it should also be observed that the ancient records preserved to us are but fragments of Egyptian history. The Pharaohs kept a yearly summary of their activities, but only two of these summaries have survived the ravages of time. So the following quotations should be understood to be limited as evidence in three ways: (1) they are those records which, fortunately for us, have been preserved for thirty or more centuries; (2) they apply to only four out of thirty dynasties; (3) they are further limited by being arbitrarily selected from the total references translated by Breasted which bear upon Egyptian contact with the Negro. It will thus be readily seen that we have before us but a meager account.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

Inscription of Uni, Count and Governor of the South. (Uni was an official of the Old Kingdom. This inscription is the most important document preserved.)

"His majesty made war on the Asiatic Sand-Dwellers and his majesty made an army of many ten thousands: in the entire South. . . . among the Irthet Negroes, the Mazoi Negroes, the Yam Negroes, among the Wawat Negroes, among the Kau

Negroes, and in the land of Temeh." Here we see that in the Old Kingdom (2980–2475 B.C.) the Pharaoh levied Negroes by the ten thousands for use against a white neighbor. The army was sent into southern Palestine and "returned in safety after it had hacked up the land of the Sand-Dwellers."

"His majesty sent me to dig five canals in the South, and to make three cargo-boats and four row boats of Acacia wood of Wawat. Then the Negro chiefs of Irthet, Wawat, Yam and Mazoi drew timber therefor, and I did the whole in only one year." The Pharaoh came to inspect this work and at "The coming of the king himself, standing behind the hill country, while the chiefs of Mazoi, Irthet and Wawat, did obeisance and gave great praise." In this inscription and others we have ample testimony of the early use of the Negro as a laborer. With the growing demand for the black in peace and war, there was a gradual movement of the Negro from the south into Egypt.

Inscription from the Tomb of Harkhuf

("The important inscriptions of this tomb inform us more fully than any other source of the commercial relations of the Old Kingdom with the Negro peoples of the extreme south, involving indirect traffic with the Sudan"—Breasted.)

Harkhuf made four journeys to the distant Negro country of Yam. Of his return from the third journey he says: "I descended with three hundred asses laden with incense, ebony, heknu, grain, panthers, . . . ivory (throw-sticks), and every good product. Now when the chief of Irthet, Sethu and Wawat saw how numerous was the troop of Yam, which descended with me to the court, and the soldiers who had been sent with me, then this chief brought and gave me bulls and small cattle, and conducted me to the roads of the highlands of Irthet, because I was more excellent, vigilant, . . . than any count, companion or caravan conductor who had been sent to Yam before."

At the time of the fourth journey to Yam, the old king Menere was dead and had been succeeded by Pepi II, who was, as yet, but a child. With the youthful Pepi II in mind, Harkhuf had secured a dwarf (pygmy) in the far south and, when en route homeward, sent a messenger to the court informing the king that he was returning with many products of the south, including the dwarf. The child Pharaoh showed the greatest solicitude for the dwarf and dispatched a letter of instruction and promise to Harkhuf, which the latter considered of such value as to include it in his tomb inscriptions: "Come north-

ward to the court immediately, thou shalt bring this dwarf with thee, which thou bringest living, prosperous and healthy . . . to rejoice and gladden the heart of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt. . . . When he goes down with thee into the vessel, appoint excellent people who shall be beside him on each side of the vessel; take care lest he fall into the water. When he sleeps at night, appoint excellent people who shall sleep beside him in his tent, inspect ten times a night. My majesty desires to see this dwarf more than the gifts of Sinai and Punt. If thou arrivest at court this dwarf being with thee alive, prosperous and healthy, my majesty will do for thee a greater thing than was done for the treasurer of the god, Burded in the time of Isesi, according to the heart's desire of my majesty to see the dwarf."

Tomb inscriptions of Pepi-Nakht, an Elephantine nobleman of high rank:

"I gave bread to the hungry, and clothing to the naked. Never did I judge between two brothers in such a way that one son was deprived of his paternal possession. I was one beloved of his father, praised of his mother, whom his brothers and sisters loved. The majesty of my lord sent me to hack up Wawat and Irthet. I did so that my lord praised me. I slew a great number there. . . . I brought a great number to court as living prisoners."

The Sixth Dynasty, from which the selections above are made, came to an end 2475 B.C. The Twelfth Dynasty selections which will follow cover the period between 2000–1788 B.C.

THE TWELFTH DYNASTY

The inscription of a Benihasin noble states that the Asiatics (Caucasian peoples) of the north and the Negroes of the south submitted to the king. The Nubian conquests of his dynasty were begun by Amenehet I, the first king of the dynasty. The inscription of Korusco contains a reference to the expedition to overthrow Nubia: "I seized the people of Wawat, I captured the people of Mazoi."

A sandstone stela found in the sanctuary of Wadi Halfa contains an account of the Nubian expedition of Sesostris I, which carries this king's wars to their southermost limits. At the top of this stela there is a relief showing Sesostris I standing facing the Lord of Thebes, who says, "I have brought for thee all countries which are in Nubia, beneath thy feet." The

god then gives to the king a line of bound captives, symbolizing Nubian towns.

Inscription of Prince Ameni

(Carved in the doorway of his cliff-tomb in Benihasin.)

"I passed Kush (a large Negro territory) sailing southward, . . . then his majesty returned in safety having overthrown his enemies in Kush the vile."

Inscription of Sihathor, Assistant Treasurer

(The stela containing this inscription is now in the British Museum.)

"I reached Nubia of the Negroes, . . . I forced the Nubian chiefs to wash gold."

The final conquest of Nubia was attained by Sesostris III in 1840 B.C. This king "conducted not less than four campaigns in this district, and probably more; and by his canalization of the cataract passages, and the erection of fortresses at strategic points, he made this country a permanent possession of the Pharaohs, which was never lost except for a time during the Hyksos period, until the dissolution of the Empire." (Breasted.)

The first and second Semneh stela inscriptions recounting the subjugation of Nubia by Sesostris III are as follows:

The First Semneh Stela

"Southern boundary, made in the year 8, under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sesostris III, . . . in order to prevent that any Negro should cross it, by water or by land, with a ship, or any herds of the Negroes; except a Negro who shall come to do trading in Iken, or with a commission. Every good thing shall be done with them but without allowing a ship of the Negroes to pass by Heh, going down stream, forever."[3]

The Second Semneh Stela

The king had to suppress numerous rebellions in Kush. Here we get an Egyptian estimate of the Negro:

"When one is eager against him (the Negro) he turns his back; when one slinks back he begins to be eager. But they are not a people of might, they are poor and broken in heart. I captured their women, I carried off their subjects, went forth to their wells, smote their bulls; I reaped their grain and set fire thereto."

[3] The "Ship" is a Nile boat.

EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY (1580–1350 B.C.)

There are numerous references to Egyptian contact with the Negro in the Eighteenth Dynasty. We shall be able to use but a few of them.

Inscription of Ahmose: "Now after his majesty had slain the Asiatics, he ascended the river . . . to destroy the Nubian Troglodytes; his majesty made a great slaughter among them." It is also recorded that females were taken for slaves.

THE TOMBOS STELA OF THUTMOSE I

"He hath overthrown the chief of the Nubians; the Negro is helpless, defenseless, in his grasp. He hath united the boundaries of his two sides, there is not a remnant among the curly-haired, who came to attack: there is not a single surviver among them. . . . They fall by the sword, . . . the fragments cut from them are too much for the birds."

In the annals of the great warrior king, Thutmose III, at the sixth Karnak pylon there is "a list which contains no less than 115 of the names of the towns and districts of the Nubian regions conquered" (Breasted). Another pylon at Karnak contains possibly four hundred towns, districts, and countries conquered in Nubia. Thutmose III probably extended Egyptian conquest to Napata at the fourth cataract. It is known that his son, Amenhotep II, established his southern boundary there.

Tomb of Rekhmire, Prime Minister under Thutmose III during Egypt's greatest power. (The scenes and inscriptions of this tomb depict in color and describe the peoples of Punt, Retunu, and Nubia.)

HYMN OF VICTORY

(Inscribed on a black granite tablet discovered by Mariette at Karnak.)

"I have bound together the Nubian Troglodytes by the tens of thousands. The northerners by hundreds of thousands as prisoners."

For centuries the Pharaohs brought captives into Egypt, white prisoners from the north, and black prisoners from the south. Egypt has long been the meeting ground of the Caucasian and the Negro. Intermingling of these races has produced the present Egyptian.

THE AMATA AND ELEPHANTINE STELAE

Seven princes had been taken in revolt in Asia. On the return from this campaign these princes were carried head down-

ward on the prow of the Pharaoh's vessel. When arriving at Thebes, six of the princes were slain by the hand of the Pharaoh (Amenhotep II) himself. "Then the other fallen one was taken up-river and hanged on the wall of Napata, in order to cause to manifest the victories of his majesty, forever and ever in all the land and country of the Negro."

Konosso Inscriptions

(Cut in the rocks of the Peninsula of Konosso.)

These inscriptions are classed by Breasted as "the most interesting record of all the many Nubian wars." They give another specific reference to the custom of bringing Negroes into the Empire.

A messenger reported to the king, Thutmose IV, that the Negroes were in revolt and descending from beyond Wawat, gathering all the barbarians and revolters of other countries. A description of the battle is given in which the Negro rebels are routed. The prisoners taken were settled in the mortuary temple of the kings at Thebes and their selection marked with a tablet bearing the words "Colony of Kush the wretched, which his majesty brought back from his victories." Another inscription described Thutmose IV as a "fierce-eyed lion who seized Kush."

Semneh Inscription of Amenhotep III

(Stela now in the British Museum.)

"List of the captivity which his majesty took in the land of Ibbet the wretched."

List of Prisoners and Killed

Living negroes	150 heads
Archers	110 heads
Negresses	250 heads
Servants of the negroes	55 heads
Their children	175 heads
Total	740 heads
Hands thereof	312
United with the living heads	1,052

Tablet of Victory (Amenhotep III)

The king is pictured driving over the fallen of Kush, with their chief bound upon his horse, "annihilating the heir of wretched Kush, bringing their princes as living prisoners."

Hymn of Amon

(On a building stela of the Temple of Soleo.)

The temple is described as "surrounded by a great wall reaching to heaven" and "settled with the children of the chiefs of the Nubian Troglodytes."

Tomb of Huy, Viceroy of Kush: Tribute of the South

"In the top line of Negroes are children of Kushite chiefs, among them a princess in a chariot drawn by oxen. The Negro chiefs wear Egyptian clothing, they bring similar tribute, and also curiously decorated oxen." (Breasted.)

In the following dynasty the Negroes include in their tribute to Rameses III, "furniture of ebony and ivory; panther hides; gold in large rings; bows, myrrh, shields, elephants' tusks, billets of ebony, ostrich feathers, ostrich eggs, live animals, including monkeys, panthers, a giraffe, ibexes, a dog, oxen with carved horns, an ostrich." (Breasted.)

THE TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY

From the Eighteenth Dynasty (1580–1350 B.C.) to the Twenty-fifth (663–525 B.C.) is a period of six centuries. They mark the decay of Egyptian civilization.

Egyptian contact with the Negro peoples to the south, beginning in prehistoric times, had been continuous. It is known that Negroes constituted a small percentage of the population prior to the dynastic age, and also that there were some mixbreeds at this remote date. We have followed such history of contact as is preserved in the meager records of the three dynasties—the Sixth, the Twelfth, and the Eighteenth.

Dropping now to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, we find that a mulatto has inherited the throne of the Pharaohs. From the First to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty there intervene twenty-eight centuries. From the Eighteenth to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty there is a period of six centuries. During this period Egyptian initiative and ingenuity slowly declined. When the mulatto was received as king, religion had fallen from an ethical test for the life hereafter to a cult of animal worship. The early Pharaohs built the pyramids and temples which stand today. The later Pharaohs built not; instead, they cut out the names of the early kings and inserted their names upon some of the greatest architectural achievements of the world. Art, science, and literature were dead.

Nubia, long a colony of Egypt, became independent under the rule of aristocratic priests of Thebes. Its capital was Na-

pata, far south in Negroland. A priest-king of Nubia, taking advantage of internal dissension in Egypt, invaded that country and conquered it. The priest of Amon in Egypt welcomed the Nubian (Ethiopian) conqueror, for the Egyptian priesthood was divided and at enmity, and the aristocracy of Nubia were worshipers of Amon. The priests of Amon in Egypt sympathized with the religion of Nubia, and their exorbitant praise of Nubia led certain of the Greek historians to suppose that Egyptian civilization was derived from Nubia.

We are struck with awe when we consider the duration of Egyptian civilization. There were three thousand years of progress. We are no less struck with awe when we consider the completeness of its decay. There have been three thousand years of stagnation. During the past thirty centuries numerous white nations have sent additions to the Caucasic elements in Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Greece, Rome, Arabia and modern Europe have made Caucasic contributions in the persons of government officials, educators, religious instructors, merchants, agriculturalists, irrigationists, artists, explorers. But their coming did not impart permanent life to the dead body. Egypt is a bog which has received, but not given, for three millennia. It is a negroid quagmire which engulfs the agencies of progress a little more slowly, but quite as hopelessly, as does the Negro quagmire farther south in Equatorial Africa.

But thirty centuries of progress is comparatively a long period. How are we to account for such a lease on life? The answer is clear—isolation. Geographical location was the chief factor in perpetuating the civilization. Fringing deserts held off the white nations that might have overthrown it; the long and tortuous Nile, the only gateway into Equatorial Africa, with granite locked cataracts, rendered this route impracticable for massed race movements. The Pharaohs of the Middle Period of Egyptian history canalled the cataracts and extended their control far into Negro Africa. From this source came a race that had imparted no impulse to cultural progress. In Egypt, as in all other places upon the earth's surface, the white race has interbred with the subject races which it did not exterminate or expel. This interbreeding has been accomplished more slowly in some places than in others, but the end always has been the same.

Ages of interbreeding resulted in the blood of the non-progressive reaching all classes of the Egyptians. "Kush, the wretched," "Ibbet, the vile," placed a son upon the throne. A negroid people welcomed a mulatto Pharaoh.

Tanis Stela

Taharka, the mulatto prince of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, was a son of Piankhi, priest-king of Nubia, and a Nubian woman. Pictorial representations of him by contemporary artists show "unmistakable negroid features" (Breasted). The Tanis stela records that he was brought up among the royal children. At an early age he was made an officer in the army and was given the command of the Egyptian and Ethiopian forces sent into Palestine. (See *II Kings* 19:20.) This expedition was intended to aid the Syrio-Palestine state in revolt against Assyria. "Only in Judea did the prophet Isaiah see the futility of dependence upon Egypt." The Assyrian army was visited by a plague and for a time Assyrian triumph was delayed.

In the interval Taharka succeeded his father upon the throne of Ethiopia and Egypt. The Assyrians conquered Syria and invaded Egypt. Taharka was easily defeated and fled to his capital at Napata in the "black belt" of the Egyptian domain and, at the instance of the petty princes of Egypt, made several attempts to oust the Assyrians. The "color line" had vanished. The Egyptian nobles sought time and again to reinstate the mulatto Pharaoh. In the subterranean passages of temples, inscriptions were recorded in his name, although the Assyrians possessed the land. Negroid Egypt wished a negroid prince in preference to the greatest white monarch.

The High Priest of Amon was now a woman. Taharka had placed his sister in this office. When he became king, he sent for his mother, who was at Napata. When she saw him attired in his princely robes "she rejoiced greatly," and the people, when they saw the mother, "bowed to the ground to this king's mother, the young as well as the old." (Tanis stela.)

So we leave Egypt, after its illustrious civilization, with a mulatto upon the throne of the Pharaohs, his sister the divine head of the Egyptian religion, and his mother the Queen Mother before whom all bow to the ground.

Driven from Egypt, the mulatto Pharaoh returned to Nubia. "The retirement of Tautamon to Napata was the termination of the Ethiopian supremacy in Egypt. His whole career was characteristic of the feeble and inglorious line from which he sprang. Emerging from the remote regions of the upper Nile, the Ethiopians had attempted an imperial role and attempted to intervene in the international politics of western Asia. At a time that Assyria was dominating the East, without a worthy rival elsewhere to stay her hand, it was to be expected that the

historic people of the Nile should confront her and dispute her progress on even terms. To this great task the Ethiopians were appointed; but there was never a line of kings so ill-suited to their high destiny. Unable to weld together the nation which they had conquered into any effective weapon against the Assyrians, every attempt to stay the advance of that formidable enemy furnished only another example of feebleness and futility. Only once does Taharka seem to cope successfully with the internal difficulties of his situation and to check for a brief moment the triumphant progress of Esarhaddon; but the indomitable Assyrian quickly breaks the resistance of the Ethiopian, and Taharka seeks ignoble security on the upper Nile. In a word, Assyria was never dealing with a first-class power in her conquest of Egypt, when the unhappy Nile dwellers were without a strong ruler; and for such a ruler they looked in vain during the supremacy of the inglorious Ethiopians.

"Withdrawing to Napata, the Ethiopians never made another attempt to subdue the kingdom of the lower river, but gave their attention to the development of Nubia. As the Egyptian residents in the country died out and were not replaced by others . . . the Egyptian gloss which the people had received began rapidly to disappear, and the land relapsed into semi-barbaric condition."[4]

4 Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 561.

CHAPTER VI

Civilizations That Have Perished Through Contact with Colored Races: India

"IN POPULATION the Caucasian race leads the world, with about 800,000,000 souls. Nearly 300,000,000 of these, however, are of the darker branches of the race and live in Asia, 220,000,000 of them being Aryans of India."[1]

We have seen that mankind is divided into three great primary groups or races: black (Negro), yellow (Mongolian), and white (Caucasian). We have also seen that the Caucasian or white race is essentially migratory, and that its restless energy, combined with its superior cultural ability had, at an early period, led it from its primeval home into every continent. These age-long movements of the Caucasian had in prehistoric times given rise to extensive blood admixture with both black and yellow races, so much so that at the dawn of history there were numerous mixbreed Caucasic peoples fully constituted as "races," some by admixture with the Negro, others by admixture with the Mongolian.

Our immigration officials, in the main, classify the peoples coming to our shores according to the languages they speak. For instance, the Hebrew from Russia is classified as Slavic. On the basis of language, the American Negro, immigrating into another country, would be classified as Caucasian because he speaks a Caucasic language. Language, then, is not a satisfactory test of race. Aryan language, in Asia, has outlived the purity of the Aryan race. It is by the language test only that it may be said 300,000,000 of our race live in Asia, 220,000,000 being Aryans of India.

The white race is divided into three main divisions, the Mediterranean, the Alpine, and the Nordic or Aryan (see notes to Chapter I). To the latter the Anglo-Saxon belongs. His language, his literature, his art, his ethics, are fundamentally Aryan. The Aryan peoples were early divided into Eastern and Western branches—the Eastern in Asia, the Western mainly in Europe.

The objection to language as a test of race lies in the fact

1 Senate Document No. 662, 61st Congress, 3rd Session, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, 1911, under title of Dictionary of Races or Peoples.

that races mix, but that languages do not. When two peoples speaking different tongues come into contact the final outcome is the blood admixture of the groups and the survival of *one* of the languages. We see this principle in progress in Ireland and Wales, where Mediterraneans and Nordics are amalgamating, but where English is supplanting the Keltic speech acquired by the Mediterraneans from earlier Nordic conquerors. In central and northern Latin America, the Spanish and Portuguese languages have survived, though the pure whites are, with each generation, becoming submerged in the racial mixtures.

We are, then, prepared to see why it is that a classification of Aryan peoples on the basis of language does not of necessity agree with their classification on the basis of race stock.

This much is certain: the "Aryan," whatever his language may be, who is not of fair complexion is not Aryan. Nor does the Aryan become less fair when dwelling in hot countries. The Hima of Uganda and the Fula of Nigeria, negroid Caucasians dwelling in equatorial Africa, are of much lighter complexion than the surrounding pure Negroes. After four centuries, the pure whites of Central America are as white as their ancestors in Europe. The English in Jamaica are not darker than the English in England. Those who have been exposed to a hotter sun and have become tanned will breed as true to the original type as their kinsmen in North Europe. All ethnologists know that we find dark races at the poles and light skinned races at the equator. Climate, in conjunction with other natural agencies working over an immense period of time may, for all we know, serve permanently to darken a breed, but there has been no perceptible change in race complexions during the period of known history. So let us not permit mixbreeds to be, in forceful vernacular, "wished on us" under the guise of "our sun-burnt cousins," by negrophile and uncritical authors.[2] Our relatedness to the Aryan conquerors of India is certain. Such kinship is honorable and in it we gain an added confidence that Aryan breeds will develop great cultures wherever it is possible for them to express their inherent qualities. But surely those who assert that the present peoples of India are our blood relatives, and should be received as such, ought to be able to explain why the overwhelming mass of Indians are colored, why their complexion exhibits all shades of color,

2 The writer is not alluding to the very capable authors of Senate Document No. 662, 61st Congress, 3d Session. Throughout this valuable work there is an effort to define races and peoples in terms of blood lineage as well as classify them according to languages.

from the jet-black to the blue-eyed blond! Is it that climate has selected the mass for racial slaughter and an infinitesimal few for racial preservation? We know that this is not true. Not climate, but the blood of colored races, is responsible for our "sun-burnt cousins." Not climate, but *caste* is responsible for the little purity that exists.

The briefest survey of the Aryan conquest of India will suffice to show that the white Aryan came into contact with a decayed civilization which was in its last stages as a result of the previous Caucasian conquerors of India having interbred with the aborigines. The breed which produced the earlier culture had become submerged in the black mass about them, and the new-coming Aryan found that the "melting pot" had prepared India for an easy conquest. The Aryans, by reason of race and culture, came as aristocrats. Their numbers were but small when compared with the colored multitudes about them. They came slowly from their homeland in the northwest where, in spite of later mixtures with blacks and yellows, we yet find Afghans and Persians who are fundamentally Aryan.

While all the darker strains of India may not be traced to the influence of the blood of the Asiatic branch of the Negro race, which at an early time was widely distributed on the Asiatic mainland, and which now has many representatives in the islands south of the continent, yet the blood of the Negro is evident in certain of the races of India.

Speaking of the race types of India, Madison Grant says, "The Aryanized Afghan and Hindu of northern India speak languages derived from Old Sanskrit and are closely related to the Mediterranean race. Aside from common dolichocephaly, these peoples are entirely distinct from the Dravidians of south India, whose speech is agglutinative and who show strong evidence of profound mixture with the ancient Negrito substratum of southern Asia. Everywhere throughout the Asiatic portion of its range the Mediterranean race overlies an even more ancient Negroid race. These Negroids still have representatives among the pre-Dravidians of India, the Veddah of Ceylon, the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula and the natives of the Andaman Islands."[3]

The all but complete disappearance of the blood of the white civilizers of India is well expressed by the same authority, who says: "The Hindu today speaks a very ancient form of the Aryan language, but there remains not one recognizable trace of the white conquerors who poured in through the pas-

3 *The Passing of the Great Race*, p. 148.

sage of the Northwest. The boast of the modern Indian that he is of the same race as his English ruler is entirely without basis in fact, and the little swarthy native lives among the monuments of a departed grandeur, professing the religion and speaking the tongue of his long-forgotten Nordic conquerors, without the slightest claim to blood kinship. The dim and uncertain traces of Nordic blood in northern India only serve to emphasize the utter swamping of the white man in the burning South."[4]

Not only were the eastern Aryans, before their amalgamation with other races, true representatives of the race type that has dominated civilization, but also it is from this branch of the race that we have received important arts and sciences, and to their ancient literature we are indebted for much that we know concerning the religious beliefs of our kindred, their social organization, their laws and race ideals.

The ancient literature of the Aryan is embodied in the Rig-Veda and the Epics. The Vedic times cover approximately the six hundred years interventing between 2000 B.C. and 1400 B.C. These writings afford us a fair conception of Aryan society and reveal a vigorous, white, conquering people, well organized, respecting their women, already in possession of ancient laws, glorying in agriculture, passionately religious, imposing their faith and culture upon the surrounding colored populations to whom they refer in terms of contempt. Themselves they designate as a people of "fair complexion" and term those whom they have subdued "colored," and ridicule them, calling them monkeys; just as the Aryans four thousand years later have gone into Africa, Asia, Oceania, and the Americas, have boasted of their white complexion and vigorous mentality, and have accredited the dark races of these lands with close relatedness to chimpanzee and gorilla.

Let us look backward over a span of forty centuries and get a glimpse of these white invaders of northern India. Their records tell us that they were of fair complexion, with straight, well-bridged noses. The latter feature, as well as the complexion, marked them as a separate people and so impressed social ideals that, even to the present day, a man's social position varies in inverse ratio to the width of his nose; "that is to say, the nasal index, as it is called, is a safe guide to the amount of Aryan, as distinguished from the aboriginal blood in his veins."[5] The tall, fair, high-nosed invader came as a con-

4 *Ibid.*, p. 70.
5 *India Through the Ages*, F. A. Steele, p. 6.

queror, looked upon the mongrel and black multitudes as inferiors, and treated them as such. Of this treatment, however, we shall learn later.

Emerging from the hill country of Afghanistan and the slopes of the Hindu Kush, the Aryans (Nordics) took possession of that extremely desirable portion of India known as the Punjab. A glance at the map will show that the Punjab is a well-watered northern province and that it comprises but a small proportion of the present Indian Empire. From the Punjab, these blond Caucasians extended their sway, imposing themselves by force and the influence of superior culture upon the mixbreeds, who infested the country in countless numbers then, as they do now. We may better understand the ease with which this was done by the first Aryan invaders of India, by reflecting upon the ease with which foreign control has been imposed by the last Aryan invaders of India, the English. The task of the first Aryan invaders should have been even less difficult; for their invasion was by land from an adjoining territory, while the English have dominated India from afar, their line of communications consisting of a long and tortuous sea route. Both the first and last invasions were wrought by the hard-drinking, hard-fighting, military caste of Aryans; and both invasions maintained by prestige of race and culture rather than by constant appeal to arms.

When occupying the Punjab, the Aryans did not expel the mixbreed white-yellow-black populations whom they conquered (as yet the Aryans were not in contact with the blacks in the south of India). Throughout the history of their conquests, the Aryans have not expelled a subjugated people whom they could profitably enslave. Modern Aryans in North America did expel the red man, but they imported the black. The former would not work, the latter could be made to work. If we, from the vantage point of centuries, pass critical judgment upon the color policies of the Indian Aryans, we may ask ourselves in what did they fail and to what mistake is their final undoing attributable? We know that their failure must be attributed to their reliance upon caste, rather than expulsion, in dealing with their colored subjects. They sought to keep themselves white by imposing laws against race admixture and supporting such laws by the ideal of race purity and by religion. But long continued race contact, throughout human history, is written large in one word—*amalgamation.*

The story of civilization is, in the main, the story of the Aryan race and its culture. The history of the Aryan peoples

shows that where they have seemingly been most cruel in their dealing with other races, their civilization has been most permanent. Of the Nordic tribes who, between the fourth and sixth centuries of our era, overran South Europe, those that became isolated and finally lost by amalgamation with their subjects, rapidly declined as cultural factors; while those who replaced conquered peoples have led in civilization. Franks, Lombards and Saxons retained race and cultural capacity. The Aryan conquerors of South America, to a great extent, have amalgamated with colored subjects. The settlers of North America segregated the colored race they found in possession of the land and have established a form of caste to prevent blood admixture with the colored race which they inducted into their midst.

Caste will not perpetuate the civilization of the whites who dwell with colored races, but it will prolong it. The Aryans of India relied upon caste. They knew that they owed their capacity in the civilized arts to their breed, and to their breed they owed their prestige among colored races. How to preserve breed and, at the same time, utilize inferior peoples to do their labor was the problem confronting the Aryan. The answer to the problem was, "caste, enforced by law and religion."

The priests were the scientists and philosophers, and they devised a system of social control designed to meet the requirements of the native problem. This extraordinary scheme has been classed among the greatest expressions of human ingenuity. Caste, as originally instituted, divided the population into four divisions—warriors, priests, agriculturalists and merchants, and laborers. The first was composed of those of the purest Aryan descent, while the last was made up mainly of the subjugated mixbreeds with whom the Aryan was in immediate contact. The heart of caste was not vocation, as at present, but endogamy (marriage within the caste). There were large groups of the subjugated population whom the Aryan did not honor with caste. These were referred to collectively as outcasts, recognized as barely human.

We see, then, a white people dwelling among a colored, who greatly outnumber them, and attempting to remain white by the institution of laws forbidding interracial marriage. "Our first glimpse of India discloses two races struggling for the soil, the Dravidians, a dark-skinned race of aborigines, and the Aryans, a fair-skinned people, descending from the northwest passages."[6] Keane, in his *Ethnology*, says: "As a rule, the

6 *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed., article "India."

Anglo-Saxon and British Aryan, who are by far the most numerous and widespread out of Europe, do not amalgamate with the aborigines."[7] This author is comparing the Saxon Aryan with Spanish, French and Portuguese "Aryans," who readily mix with colored races. But Saxon resistance to intermixture is relative only. The Saxon mixes with other races in every land where there is race contact. This mixing is slow, but the end will be the same. The same authority, on another page, himself affirms that the end of all race contact is amalgamation of races.

The Anglo-Saxon of the United States, like his early kinsmen in India, will retain comparative purity for many generations. Like his ancient relatives, he invokes law to prevent interbreeding of white and black. But the present day white man is not as well fortified against miscegenation as the ancient white man of India, who supplemented legal prohibition of marriage with non-whites by his religious teaching, and by caste, which was perfect in ideal and enforceable by law. In the United States, legal prohibition of interracial marriage has not been written in the statutes of all the states; and, too, we have a religion, which, instead of opposing interbreeding with the colored races within our midst, is interpreted by a large number of whites in such manner as to minimize or abolish the color line.

But the peril to the color line in India, as in the United States, was not legal interbreeding of races. There, as here it was the illegitimate mixbreed who threatened the purity of the white race.

There has ever been a deplorable freedom between the white and non-white races which has resulted in an increasing number of mixbreeds. In India, caste prevented interracial marriage, but was incapable of preventing illegitimate unions. The Aryans, intent upon retaining race purity, yet unable to restrain men of their race from unions with colored women, and, in most instances unable to discover the guilty white, turned with a terrible wrath upon the helpless mixbreed. The half-castes were not permitted to reside within the limits of the city; were reviled by all, both black and white; and finally, the Aryan laws provided that, under certain conditions, the soldiers might slay them without mercy. It is evident that such extreme measures would not be permanently enforced, most of all by men of the Aryan race, whose history is generally marked by tolerance to races and creeds. In spite of legal re-

7 *Ethnology*, p. 410.

strictions, the mixbreeds increased. Caste prolonged race purity but did not preserve it. The modern "Aryan" in India is just such a mixture as the ancient Aryan was authorized to kill.

Of the "220,000,000" so-called Aryans of India it is not likely that one-tenth of one per cent are whites of the Aryan race. "Even the haughty Rajputs, formerly of the Kshatria (military) caste, have long lost their racial purity, and are now largely intermingled with Bhils and other primitive non-Aryans" (Keane). "Men who call themselves Hindoos still exist, Sanskrit derivatives are still spoken, but the Hindoo spirit, however, is dead; the noble blood has been lost in the Indian quagmire, in the yellow-black-white swamp."[8]

Races dwelling in common territory will eventually amalgamate; and by observing the present, we are conscious that a slow amalgamation of white with non-white is occurring even in Saxon circles, and we know that amalgamation has already proved the end of hope in many Latin possessions. With the present in mind, we are able to understand the problems confronting ancient India and realize the Aryan's hopeless task in seeking to institute laws and customs that would perpetuate his breed and the civilization which proceeded from his breed, and which perished with it. The history of race contact will establish that the Aryans undertook an impossible task. They brought religion, law and caste to their aid, the most carefully devised agencies the world has known. But the human intellect has never proved equal to the task of regulating sex relations.

In Indian history, as in Egyptian, we find that the further back we go the greater the culture. This is explainable on the basis of breed. These civilizations were founded by Caucasian peoples, who eventually were replaced by, or became mixed with, their colored subjects. That their cultures had a Caucasian origin is a matter beyond doubt. To make clear the causation of their decay, we may bring to bear numerous analagous instances from both ancient and modern history. We have the Greek and Roman cultures and those of Central and Northern Latin-America, which were implanted by a breed and declined with the breed which implanted them. There was gradual submergence of the creative breeds into the non-creative which, in all instances, were more numerous.

Let us look to the high state from which the Aryans of India fell and we may appreciate the loss to civilization. It was only about a century ago that the Western World began to realize the riches of the Sanskrit literature and the ancient

8 A. P. Schultz, *Race or Mongrel*, p. 61.

glory of the Hindus. When the ancient treasures of the whites of India were translated, Europeans were struck with amazement to learn that their own language was that of the civilizers of India, and that the civilizers of India were a white people with a culture so deep and varied, and of such ancient origin, as to suggest that India was the home of the Aryan peoples, and that Western arts and creeds had been derived from Asia. We know now that the Aryans of India, like those of modern America and Australia, were conquering invaders, and that, like those of America and Australia, they carried their culture with them and imposed it upon colored races.

Hindu history reveals that it was the early invaders, not their mongrel offspring, who displayed affinity in ideals, race, and culture to the Europeans of the days preceding steam and electricity. However alien the Saxon student may feel when poring over Egyptian and Assyrian records, he has consciousness of kinship with these tall, high-nosed, aggressive warriors, priests, and people, who emerge from obscurity upon the banks of the Indus, spread gradually to domination of the great Indian peninsula, carry their culture at a later date to Ceylon and Cambodia, and, after centuries of effort to retain race purity, gradually subside into the mongrel mass.

The Aryans opposed the colored peoples whom they conquered, not only on the ground of race, but on the basis of religion as well.

The colored "were abhorrent to the Aryans on account of their blacker blood and their unorthodox religion."[9] Knowledge of the religions to which the Aryans objected will give justification for their opposition. Along with barbaric superstitions, the Dravidians practiced a cult of gross obscenity and followed these religious observances with debauchery of unrestricted passion. Also, the Dravidians recognized only the mother as head of the family, their practices being such as to render this custom the only satisfactory way to determine kinship. Now, the Dravidians were the mongrel remains of the previous civilization that had perished in India, and represented a far more capable type of humanity than the blacks about them and to the south. The Aryans found the best of India steeped in inexpressible obscenity and of this, as well as of the colored blood, they felt abhorrence.

To the religion of India, the Aryans opposed their own, and with much success, so long as they remained white. The religion of the Indian Aryan had much in common with that

[9] Lionell D. Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, p. 4.

of our European ancestors prior to the introduction of Christianity; and, if we look to their religion, we find that the Aryans of thirty centuries ago held high ideals, many of which it would be difficult to improve. They believed fervently in immortality, though the immortality was to be obtained by works rather than by faith. They believed firmly in the incarnation of God walking as man upon earth, that such incarnation had been accomplished; and they looked forward to the return to earth of this same Redeemer incarnate.

The ancient laws of India (Institutes of Manu) represent an attempt to codify Hindu law just as the Code of Justinian represents the codification of the laws of certain Western Aryans. There is much in agreement between them, and the latter were probably well known to the Roman jurists. In these laws and throughout the Vedic hymns there is not a trace "of the many deplorable beliefs, traditions and customs, which in later years have debased the religious and social life of India; nor is there idolatry in the ancient religion such as characterizes the present, nor caste, nor enforced widowhood; neither is there any trace of, nor the faintest shred of authority for, either suttee or child marriage."[10]

The early Hindu prayed to the god "who comprehended all things." "Take me to the immortal and imperishable abode where light dwells eternal." "They still felt the impulse of wonder" and looked into immeasurable space "full of blazing and self-luminous worlds." (Steele.) The Institutes of Manu teach that of "all duties, the principal is to acquire a true knowledge of one supreme God; that it is the most exalted of all sciences because it insures immortality."[11]

Thus at the very opening of recorded Aryan history, say four thousand years ago, we find the men of our race in possession of the most exalted religious concepts—the theory of one all-powerful God; of God become incarnate for man's sake; of a miraculous birth of this incarnate God; and an expectation of a reincarnation of this same God. They prayed, fasted and watched for His reappearing.

At the time of Jesus, Palestine had been under Aryan or semi-Aryan influence for more than a thousand years. Nor was this influence entirely from without; for a part of the inhabitants were Aryan, or partly Aryan, in blood. Although the centuries have brought great ethnic changes in this part of Western Asia, there long remained ethnic traces of the early

10 *India Through the Ages*, F. A. Steele, pp. 8, 9.
11 *Cradle Land of Arts and Creeds*, p. 25, by Charles Sloan.

Nordic blood, which was supplemented in copious measure by Greek conquests. The Hebrews under the influence of Judaism proved a difficult problem to their Assyrian conquerors, and large numbers of them were sent into exile. This was especially true of the districts of Galilee and Samaria. Here their lands were given to non-Hebrews with the express purpose of implanting a population which would be amenable to Assyrian control. But man-eating lions visited the new settlers, who believed that the gods of the dispossessed Jews were angry because they were no longer worshiped. The newcomers consequently sent a deputation to the Assyrian monarch begging that religious instructors be sent to teach them to worship the gods of the land. (Read *II Kings*, 17–41.) The instructors were selected from the exiled Jewish priests and sent to Galilee, causing the settlers to add a Jewish cult to their religion. But the new religion did not change their race; and the Jews of Judea, grown exclusive by oppression, never accepted the Galilean "Jews" on terms of equality. They held the Galilean in contempt as being non-Hebrew in blood and possessed of a spurious Judaism. From Galilee, which was predominantly, though not wholly, non-Hebrew, Jesus came. The Jews rejected him because of his origin.

The Great Teacher made use of the good that was in the Aryan religion as well as that in Judaism. His Sermon on the Mount is almost wholly Aryan; its teaching was found in the earliest Aryan instruction and was recorded in the literature of both Eastern and Western branches of that race, centuries before its delivery in Judea. Let it be remembered that the Aryans were looking for a reincarnation of God, the Jews for an earthly Messiah. The Aryans (the Western or purer branch) have accepted Jesus as the incarnation of God; the Jews rejected him. The Christian world today is almost wholly constituted of the Aryan and those subject to the Aryan. Jesus as God incarnate is the highest expression of Aryan faith, and his social teachings are the highest expression of Aryan ethics.

Compare the exalted religious ideals of the early Aryans who conquered India with the repulsive cults of their mixbreed descendants, and what devout Christian will not feel a shudder of the soul when he contemplates the immeasurable and seemingly unbridgeable chasm between the "fair" people who entered India forty centuries ago and their innumerable mongrel posterity?

Let us quote well-recognized authority which shall serve to heighten our estimate of the culture of the conquerors of the

Punjab. "The Aryan tribes of the Veda are acquainted with most of the metals. They have blacksmiths, coppersmiths and goldsmiths among them, besides carpenters, barbers and other artisans. They fight from chariots and freely use the horse, though not yet the elephant, in war. They have settled down as husbandmen, till the fields with the plough, and live in villages and towns. They have learned to build 'ships' (river boats), . . . unlike the modern Hindu, the Aryans of the Veda ate beef, . . . thus the stout Aryans spread eastward through Northern India, pushed on from behind by late arrivals of their own stock, and driving before them, or reducing to bondage, the earlier 'black-skinned' races."[12]

The "black-skinned" peoples with whom the whites came into contact were so numerous that miscegenation between the Aryan warriors and colored women soon produced a mixbreed element which threatened the purity of the white race. Knowing that race characteristics have not changed during the past forty centuries, and possibly not materially in a hundred centuries, can we not see that in early India there would be among the whites an element who wished to expel the colored from the districts successively taken, in order to create an environment whereby the Aryan race and culture would be assured permanency? And is it not likely that this element was overruled by others who opposed "harsh measures" in dealing with the colored, and by another and more powerful element of property owners who profited by labor of the colored and were ready always to resort to force to keep them in serfdom?[13]

Sympathy for the oppressed can be shown to have played an important role in the highly sensitive Aryans' dealing with the hapless elements of his own race, though perhaps not so much as in his dealing with other races. At the time of the removal of the American Indians from east of the Mississippi to their present locations, there were many Americans who opposed the measure as extremely cruel, although the retention of the Indians in their original homes would have resulted in their absorption by the Saxon settlers and a consequent lowering of Saxon capacity. The opponents of removal would have made mixbreeds of the Caucasian to avoid offense to the Indian.

A critical study of race contact will prove that, however

12 *Encyclopedia Brittanica*, 11th ed., article "India."

13 Caste, as at first constituted, was based on color; and its preservation in its original form would have answered every purpose of slavery. Those opposed to expulsion of the blacks relied upon caste to preserve the white breed and at the same time enslave the colored.

reprehensible are the few sub-normal whites who are content that their offspring by colored paramours be consigned to an inferior evolutionary status, it is not they, but the sympathizing abnormal whites who have given the greatest impetus to race amalgamation. This is especially true of the Anglo-Saxon Aryans, the sub-normal of whom do interbreed with colored people, but the abnormal of whom, in theory at least, assert that there should be no color line. For every slave owner of the Teutonic colonies of England, Holland and Germany, and for every slave owner of Teutonic America who has interbred with colored women, there have been a thousand non-slave owners of Teutonic race living apart from the colored races who have asserted that there is not, and should not be, a color line. These, then, constitute real problems when dealing with colored races, the sub-normal whites who transgress the color line in practice and the super-normal whites who oppose the color line in theory.

Religion, that mighty agency in mongrelizing the Caucasian, with its caste-eliminating, race-equalizing tenets, has been seized upon in all lands by the supernormal whites in their efforts to abolish the color line. The "melting pot" in India was not full until there arose a religion attempting to offset the Hindu religion which gave its sanction to caste to preserve the Caucasian. Hinduism taught the colored that caste was founded upon the will of God. Its purpose was to keep the races apart. When the illegitimate mixbreeds in India twenty-five centuries ago had increased until they were more numerous than the whites, there arose Gautama Buddha, an aristocratic mixbreed with yellow blood predominating, who stripped Hinduism (Brahmanism) of caste and sought a religious reformation that would level the races of India. India was ripe, the colored world was ripe and anxious for such a theory. The success of Buddhism knew no bounds. It was popular! Why not? The teachings of its founder gave to the mongrel a position in human society that evolution had denied him in nature. It bridged an impassable chasm with an assumption.

We leave India, having seen that every social agency of the Aryan devised to preserve race and civilization had failed; and that every social agency observable in the modern Aryan's color problems was used in India to promote amalgamation, and succeeded. The Aryan conquerors of India utilized every remedial measure but one—they did not attempt geographical separation of races.

CHAPTER VII

Civilizations That Have Perished Through Contact with Colored Races: China, Mexico, Peru

THE CULTURES of the Caucasian race that have receded as a result of absorption of the blood of colored races may be enumerated, in part, as follows: In Africa—Egypt, Abyssinia, Nigeria, Uganda, Mashonaland, the northern littoral. In Asia—India, Babylonia, Persia, Cambodia, Ceylon, Java, New Zealand (Maori), Polynesia, Northern China, Korea, Japan (early). In Europe—The southern provinces of Portugal, Spain, and Italy; Greece, and the Balkans. In America—Mexico, Yucatan, and Peru in early times; Haiti, and portions of the equatorial mainland, within the past hundred years.

Civilizations may have been overthrown by armed invasions, but if the victors were of the same race as the vanquished they assimilated the vanquished or were assimilated by the vanquished, and the world did not suffer a permanent loss. Greek culture was appropriated by the Roman conqueror, Roman culture by the Germans, and Holland's high place well filled by the English.

It is not when the fit replace the fit that civilization suffers irretrievable loss, but when the fit is replaced by the unfit. It is not when a creative people succumb to the forceful measures of a people of their own race that culture decays, but when a creative people are submerged by a non-creative.

As a result of recent developments in anthropology and allied sciences, we may conclude that all civilizations have arisen from the white race. It is the Caucasian who has shown cultural capacity in such measure as to deserve to rank as "civilized." The cultures of ancient Egypt, Babylonia, Phoenicia, India, Greece, and Rome; of modern Europe, the Americas, Australasia, and South Africa have been without question attributed to the white man. Keane, speaking of the Caucasians in relation to the higher human achievements, says, "Such is the dominant position of this the highest of the Hominidae, which seems alone destined to a great future, as it alone is heir to a great past. All the works of man worthy of record have, with few or doubtful exceptions, emanated from

the large and much convoluted brain of the white Homo Caucasicus."

There remain three important cultural centers to be considered—those of ancient China and of the pre-Columbian civilizations of Mexico and Peru. We will now attempt to determine the relation of the early white man to these civilizations.

Early Chinese civilization so nearly resembled that of Babylonia as to cause some scientists to hold that the Chinese moved *en masse* from the regions adjacent to Babylonia. As research progresses those inventions which were once accredited to Chinese ingenuity are one by one being traced to the Caucasian. The Chinese ability to hold but not advance his culture has been explained on the probable basis that the Chinese suffer arrest of mental development a little later in life than do the Negroes. The latter's precociousness in childhood and relative stupidity in manhood is a trait characteristic of that race in all of its widely divergent branches.

A non-creative race, whose progress depends upon assimilating the progress of others, may nevertheless show high sustaining qualities. The culture imparted to them will not, of necessity, depart immediately upon the passing of the creative breed to which they are indebted, and the imparted culture is likely to have long lease of life if the non-creative race be yellow rather than black; for the yellow man represents a higher intellectual development than the black. Add to the yellow man's potentiality the additional capacity derived from a cross breeding with the white, and it would seem that one might safely infer that such a mixture would retain the white man's culture, at least in its rudiments, throughout many generations. Such hybrids will not continue the development of the culture of their white ancestors, for the white man himself is not of such intellectual qualities that his offspring from union with non-white are able to rise to the white man's culture level.

We do not have to rely merely upon the question of Chinese origin in Mesopotamia to prove Caucasian influence in China, for we have more easily ascertained knowledge that such is the case. Manchus, Mongols, Koreans and Japanese are admitted to be partly Caucasian, the mongrel descendants of a neolithic, and possibly also a paleolithic movement of the Caucasian across northern Asia.

The presence of the early white man in central and east central Asia is now recognized by ethnologists. Deniker in his *Races of Men*, p. 363, says: "Southern Siberia, the Kirghiz steppes, north and northwestern Mongolia are covered with

stone circles, barrows, tumuli, menhirs of every form, with burial places in which are found objects in wood, bone, bronze, copper, iron. The skulls which have been taken from some of these burial places, in the upper valley of the Hanssei, are *dolichocephalic;* the plaster mortuary masks found in the same region by Adrianof present a type somewhat European."[1]

Early Chinese records refer to blond tribes, and there yet remain tall, fair-skinned, blue-eyed, individuals in Manchuria and Korea, the racial outcroppings of the early Caucasian. China has been ruled by these northern mixbreed tribes for many centuries. The Great Wall of China was built to preserve China proper from the predatory incursions of these hybrid Caucasians. The rulers of China, of course, will have constituted the upper class; and it is from this class that Chinese higher culture issued. It is apparent that the Caucasic element in China would do for that people what it has done for all other colored races, that is, impart to them a culture which in its first stages would be progressive, and in its later stages dwarfed, as the Caucasian blood became submerged. This will account for the fact that Chinese civilization was more creative in its earlier stages. The Chinese were a more progressive people twenty centuries ago than when the modern Europeans reached East Asia.

Whatever the difference of opinion as to the western origin of the Chinese, it will not affect our thesis, which is that Chinese higher culture, in common with the higher culture of other colored races, was imparted, in the early period as at present, through Caucasian influence. But the blood of the white man has not, in China, as it has not in any other instance, raised the mongrel to the level of progressive culture. "They seem in some respects to be almost as incapable of progress as the Negroes themselves, the only essential difference being that the arrest of mental development comes later in life for the yellow than for the black. Meanwhile it may be pointed out that Chinese culture has been stagnant since the early historic period, despite many impulses from within and without to shake off the chronic state of lethargy in which the nation seems to vegetate. The late Terrien de Lacouperie has advanced many arguments to show that, before reaching their present homes in the Hoang-ho and Yang-tse basins, the primitive Bak tribes had long been in contact with the civilized Akkads of Babylonia. Hence they reached China already a somewhat cultured people, with knowledge of letters, astronomy,

1 See also *The Passing of the Great Race,* by Madison Grant.

and various industrial arts. In their new environment they continued the development up to a certain point, after which—that is, throughout the greater part of their historic life—they have mostly remained at a standstill, and even now find the greatest difficulty in assimilating Western ideas. This inert mass of semi-civilized savagery offers a dead resistance to all outward pressure, even at the peril of the national stability more than once overthrown by a few rude Tartar hordes. Their religion remains a system of cold moral precepts, combined with the old shamanistic superstitions, beneath a veneer of Buddhistic ceremonial, ancestry and spirit (Daemon) worship. Their astronomy has scarcely advanced beyond the astrological state, while their medical art continues to be a hopeless mixture of superstitious practices, absurd nostrums, and a few grains of common sense. Excessively courteous among themselves, they are rude and aggressive toward strangers, with a deep-rooted contempt and even hatred for foreigners and all their ways. On the other hand, the Chinese, although reckless gamblers like all the Indo-Chinese and Malay peoples, are naturally frugal, thrifty and parsimonious, which, combined with great staying power and capacity for enduring hardships on poor fare, makes them formidable competitors with the western nations in the labor markets of the world."[2]

The "Yellow Peril" is not so much that of armed aggression as of economic superiority based upon low standards of life, and, ultimately, of blood admixture of yellows with whites to whose lands the yellows incessantly clamor to migrate.

Now let us turn to the civilizations of Mexico and Peru, which the Europeans found in slow decay when they explored these countries four centuries ago.

We have seen that roads to America were open to migrants from Asia, and perhaps Europe, at an early age. Stone age migrations of the white man had carried him across northern Asia to Japan and across southern Asia to Polynesia. Did the white man reach America? There yet remain some ethnologists, chiefly American, who confidently assert that the cultures of Mexico and Peru had independent origin, that they grew up in America as similar cultures grew in Asia and Europe. For our purpose, we are not concerned with the local origin of the cultures nor with the imparted influences, if there were such. Behind every culture there is race, and the matter that concerns us is the determination of the race that produced the cultures.

2 *Ethnology*, A. H. Keane, pp. 322, 323.

All will admit that the American Indian is derived in whole or in part from Asia. There is an unquestioned Mongolian strain in the Indian. Is the Indian wholly Mongolian or is he partly Caucasian? Let us ask those who maintain that the civilizations of early America were evolved locally by the Mongolian, who long before had reached America, whether, if the Mongolian element in eastern Asia could reach America, there is any inherent improbability that the more aggressive Caucasian of that region could also have managed to cover the same route? The cultures of Mexico and Peru were Caucasian-like, and the Caucasian was as close to the western world as the Mongolian. Those who maintain that the American cultures were locally evolved and simply represent a stage in human progress, are burdened with the necessity of showing that it is improbable that the early whites of Asia would cross as did the yellows, and, further, by the difficulty of explaining why the yellows developed a Caucasian-like culture in America, but not elsewhere.

The way before the Caucasian was easy and enticing. It was peopled by inferiors that the Caucasian's race-long history had taught him he could subdue and enslave. Did the Caucasian not follow the colored to America as he did to central Africa and southern Asia, everywhere eventually interbreeding with those whom he had conquered? Caste, or some such social prohibition against blood admixture, preserved the early Caucasian for a time in Mexico and Peru, as it did in India and Uganda; but caste has never permanently preserved a breed. The civilizations of America were crumbling when the Spaniards came, and there were aristocracies exhibiting unmistakable evidences of a breed differing from the mass of Mongoloids over whom they ruled. In India, the mongrel Aryan aristocracy shows clearly that it is in part Caucasian, and the same may be said of many ethnic groups, where the white man has produced a culture and suffered its loss by interbreeding with non-white races.

Those who oppose the theory of the Caucasian origin of the civilizations of Central and South America in reality ask us to believe that the yellow turned megalithic architect in America! That here, but nowhere else in the world, he built mighty pyramids as did the whites of Egypt! That here, but nowhere else, he evolved a religion like the whites of India, the Mediterranean shores, and East Asia! That the creative elements in the pyramid builders of Mexico and Peru were highly specialized Mongolians without the slant eye and short nose, who, in

some way not explained, acquired these non-racial characteristics and, in some way equally mysterious, aped the spiritual and material culture of the white race. The great stone architecture of Mexico and Peru rivals, if it does not excel, the mighty works of Egypt. There is striking similarity in design.[3] The remarkable similarity between these cultures and those of the white man elsewhere are explained away by certain Americanists, such, for instance, as Brinton, who says that the similarities have arisen from "certain fixed relations of man to his environment, and therefore are of little value in tracing ethnic affinities." When the Americanists show that the use of steam as an industrial power in Japan "has arisen from a certain fixed relation of man to his environment," that the electric lights of Victoria Nyanza, the use of "wireless" on Tanganyika, the Andean railways of South America and the steamers of the Amazon have arisen from "certain fixed relations of man to his environment," the more valuable will their studies become. The truth of the matter is, that the Caucasian has undoubtedly originated every high culture of whose origin we are certain; and of cultures whose origin is in doubt there is evidence of data and authority accrediting them to the white race.

We are prepared to admit that the coming of the Caucasian type to the New World is of great antiquity, but, however great the lapse of time between the coming of the Stone Age Caucasian and the arrival of those armed with iron helmet, sword and gun, the first white migrant in his intellect and race type was already conditioned to development along race lines. We must not ignore the persistence of race type. The races physically and intellectually are today very much as they were at the beginning of the age of metals. Our advancement has not been evolutional as much as cultural. We have acquired the use of steam and electricity and worked them out to man's use in manifold ways. We have learned more of the laws governing health, and have made education more general; but our improvements are due in minor degree, if any, to increase in brain bulk or quality of the individual. We have simply had more light by which our feet may be guided, more knowledge from which to profit.

That there is a non-Mongoloid element in the American Indian is apparent. So Caucasian-like are, or were, some of

3 Read the *Secret of the Pacific*, by C. Reginald Enoch, or the articles on Mexico and Peru in the *Encylopedia Britannica*. These references will give a summary of the arguments in favor of the theory of Caucasian origin of the cultures of early America.

the tribes, that Alfred Wallace suggested that they came from Europe when that country, Greenland, and much of North America, constituted a single continent. Philologists will endeavor to trace many Indian words, such as, for instance, "Manhattan," through East and Central Asia into Europe, while anthropologists of high standing, like the ever critical Dr. Ales Hrdlicka, are of the opinion that the elements which go to make up the American Indian, in part, may be traced through Asia into Europe. This phase of ethnology is as yet barely touched, and offers a rich field for the student.[4]

The Caucasian has been constituted as such, has been differentiated from the yellow and black races, for so vast a period of time that there is no inherent difficulty in attributing the American cultures to that race, even though it be shown that the Americas were peopled in the Old Stone Age. During the later paleolithic era the races were hopelessly differentiated, no longer plastic, conditioned to development in accord with their inherent capacity and racial trend. So we may well concede remote date in the peopling of America and grant that the Caucasian element was proto-Caucasian, or, if need be, precursor of the Caucasian, if this will satisfy, and yet justly infer that the non-Mongoloid culture of early America, like that of later America, proceeded from migrants of Caucasic type.

We ignore the persistence of type. We ignore the laws of heredity. We imagine that, in one way or another, man of yesterday was detached from ourselves. But he is not to be considered as a thing separate. We are what we are by reason of our ancestors being what they were. If the human family proceeded from a single pair, this common ancestral pair lived untold centuries ago. Man was still young. Climate and other environment were radically different from the present. Differences between the races were determined when man was plastic. The fortunate or unfortunate combination of parental factors from which the races have been evolved was at such a remote period in human history that for practical purposes we may consider the races to have had independent origin rather than separate development after common origin. The changing of Negro to Chinese or Chinese to European is not to be conceived as possible by human agency, for the creation of physical environment, which, acting in conjunction with heredity, is essential to success in such task, is beyond the power of man.

4 See *Remains in Eastern Asia of the Race That Peopled America*, by Ales Hrdlicka, Curator of Physical Anthropology, United States National Museum.

Now, race, that "stiffening in the evolutionary process,[5] let it not be forgotten, extends to mind as well as to body. It is not merely skin-deep." Race not only conditions us to what we are and to what we are to become, but the differentiations in the sub-species of humanity were determined in all their essentials untold ages ago. The absence of man-like ape, with the failure to discover the remains of ape-like man, or even the works of man other than those of late origin, together with the knowledge that the race types which constitute the aborigines may be found in Europe and Asia, have led some ethnologists to conclude that man not only did not originate in the Western World but that his coming thither was during the New Stone Age.[6]

The Caucasian, the only race that has produced a great stone architecture, turned to such achievements in the New World as well as the Old. The great-stone temples of Peru and Mexico show an astonishing resemblance to those of Egypt. They owe origin either to the Caucasian, who did reach these shores, or to the Mongoloid over whom the Caucasian ruled. Can there be difference of opinion as to the source from which they proceeded?

We have, then, the road to America open to the Caucasian, as well as to the Mongolian. We find a Caucasic type of Indian who, though mixed with the Mongolian, is not more divergent from the true Caucasian than from the true Mongolian. We find a similarity between the higher material culture of America and that of the early white man elsewhere. As yet we have not closely considered the similarity of language, social customs and religion. Capable authorities have claimed to identify the language used in such localities as Mexico with the tongue spoken by Caucasianoids in Asia. In connection with social custom, it has been observed that there is similiarity even between the games played in Mexico and those known to have been familiar to eastern Asia.[7] Alexander von Humboldt declared that the Mexican calendar was essentially identical with the Tibeto-Chinese calendar, and we know, of course, that the latter is derived from the early Caucasian method of reckoning time.

Of this calendar, C. Reginald Enoch[8] says: "It was both a

5 See *Anthropology*, Robert R. Marett, Oxford, p. 62.

6 See *Early Man in South America*, by Ales Hrdlicka.

7 "The same designs, patterns, and even games are found in ancient Mexico and India and China," article "Archaeology," 11th ed., *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

8 *The Secret of the Pacific*, p. 112.

sun-dial and a calendar, such as the Egyptians and the Chaldeans used in the most remote time."

Religious beliefs are unusually persistive. The story of a well-nigh universal flood is wide-spread and has been held for millennia. The Aryan idea of God become incarnate and walking before man for an example for man to follow, is so remote in its beginning that it is lost in antiquity. We are not surprised, then, to learn that the early Caucasian in Mexico and Peru held religious beliefs similar to those of his race in Asia, though he may have been separated from the latter for many centuries.

Common religion is not conclusive evidence of common race origin, we know, for there are both black and yellow Christians, yet the Christian faith arose within and is dependent upon the white race for dissemination. While there are Christians who are not white, yet there are no colored Christians who have not received their religion directly or indirectly from the white race. We may dismiss as uncritical the assumption that similar culture may be evolved by the various races because of common brain structure of the races. Identity of brain structure would be shown by identity of action and reaction under any given environment. Race extends to brain as well as to skin-color or hair-texture. When race lines are crossed, there is no common cerebral structure from which similarity of culture may proceed. Nor has there been since the races have been constituted as such.

If we find in early Mexico a religion closely analogous to one known to have been of Asiatic origin, such will imply Asiatic influence in America through the physical presence of Asiatic immigrants or by cultural contact with Asia, one or both.

Buddhism arose among the mixbreed whites of India and grafted its peculiar tenets upon the prevailing and long since ancient religious beliefs, eliminating some but utilizing others. Let us note the similarity in the soul's progress after death, according to the Buddhists' teaching, and that of the Aztecs of Mexico:[9]

BUDDHIST PURGATORY.	AZTEC JOURNEY TO SPIRIT LAND.
1. Soul wades across the river of death.	1. Soul crosses the river of death.
2. Passes between two iron	

[9] From *Anthropology*, by A. H. Keane.

mountains pushed together by demons.	2. Passes between two mountains that clash together.
3. Climbs mountains of knives which cut its hands and feet.	3. Climbs mountains set with obsidian knives.
4. Is gashed by knives flying through the air.	4. Is beset by these knives blown about by the wind.

There is not space, nor is there necessity, for a separate discussion of the Caucasian origin and mongrel ending of the race stocks that produced the various cultures enumerated at the beginning of this chapter. We have singled out ancient China and America because there is less known of these civilizations and because they were important centers. There is ample evidence that Egypt, Abyssinia, the northern littoral, Nigeria, Uganda, and Mashonaland in Africa; Babylonia, Phoenicia, India, Cambodia, Java, Ceylon, New Zealand, China, Japan, and Korea in Asia; Mexico, Yucatan and Peru in America, possessed relatively advanced cultures originating from Caucasian peoples, and we have sought to show that the decay of these cultures synchronizes with the gradual absorption of the Caucasian elements by the always more numerous colored races among whom they dwelt.

The causation of the decay of culture is the substitution of the culturally unfit for the culturally fit. Civilization is but the outward expression of peculiar mentality operating upon and in response to environment. A peculiar mentality is the expression of relative peculiarity in brain matter, and any given mentality cannot be but an expression of breed. Mind is dependent upon brain quantity and quality, and peculiar brain quality and quantity arise from and are inseparable from race.

When a race is qualified by blood admixture with alien stocks, there is, of necessity, a corresponding qualification of brain matter, and hence, of mentality. We in America must daily bear in mind that amalgamation of races is the ultimate result of race contact. We have given but little attention to race and heredity. Work along these lines has been mainly by European scientists. As for the American public, ethnology may be classified as an almost unknown science, especially so with regard to results following upon the contact of races. Our interest has been in other things, and in those things we have succeeded greatly.

The courage and intelligence which we have called into service in establishing our civilization must be used in its preservation. It may be that we shall be called upon to use

still greater courage and ability in the latter than in the former. We have in our midst increasing millions of a culturally inferior race, in the presence of which the white man's civilization has never survived. On our southwestern frontier there are a still larger number of the culturally inferior, wholly alien to our race and institutions, whose presence led the foremost ethnologist of his day (Alexander von Humboldt) to cast the gloomy prophecy, "The United States shall absorb Mexico and crumble to pieces."

Amicable relations with Latin America and the West Indies are drawing to our shores an increasing number of the partly Negro, partly Indian, partly white, who, under disguise of national, rather than racial, designations—Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Peruvians, Ecuadorians, Venezuelans, Jamaicans, etc., rather than Indian-Negro-Caucasian mongrels—arrive in our midst and intermarry with our white inhabitants. Of late years, south and southeastern Europeans—black-white, and even yellow-white mongrels—are deluging our nation. Negroid Sicily is being transplanted to America.

Beyond the Pacific there arises a grave danger to our institutions. These people left to their own resources are not a menace. They have not initiated a stage in human progress. Their danger to civilization lies in their ability to assimilate the arts and sciences of peace and war, and, by utilization of the white man's culture make their numbers a menace to the white man's progress and ultimately to the white man's existence.

Color problems are permanent problems. They will die only with the obliteration of the color line. If the white man is to remain white, color problems must persist. *As long as there is a color line, there will be a color problem.* Our future is clouded by such problems. They will not grow less, but ever greater, and our children's children will bear them as intensified burdens.

The history of higher cultures will reveal that all those which are popularly called "civilizations" may be traced in origin to the white race, while the history of the contact of races will reveal that the civilizations of the white man have never survived contact with the colored. We need and must have this knowledge if we are to reverse history.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

THE RELATION OF BREED TO CULTURE

Great Britain's far-flung empire and her incessant problems

arising from the contact of races have led British statesmen and scientists to a marked reaction from the conventional attitude of the British people of six or eight decades ago. In the last century, British popular thought, led to a high pitch by the teaching of abolitionists (philanthropists), conceived the colored races to be child races in the process of development. The color problem was considered to be but a problem of color and not one of mentality. The abolitionists taught that the Negro was, to all effects, a white child and should be treated as such, for ere long he would reach maturity, and the color problem vanish as a result of religious instruction and training in the sciences and arts.

The teaching of the abolitionists wrought a revolution in British colonial policy. It created consternation among the colonial English who, threatened with bankruptcy by the abolition of slavery, found their civilization itself menaced by the English doctrine that the races were equal and that the Negro should have equal share with the Caucasian in controlling the British possessions.

While many Englishmen at home were not permitted to vote, suffrage was conferred upon the Negro. In the West Indies, British colonials threatened rebellion, but their numbers were too limited to influence the race equalization policies of the British government. In South Africa, non-slaveholding Dutch, together with their British sympathizers, fled from "mad negrophilism." Leaving their settled homes in Cape Colony, they passed into the interior and founded there the Orange Free State and the Transvaal governments.

Transplanted bodily to America, English negrophilism encountered more powerful opposition and required the killing and disabling of a million white men before it was accepted as a national ideal.

At a great cost of blood and treasure, the Negro policies of white peoples who dwelt apart from colored races were forced upon those of their own race who were custodians of civilization among the colored races. After more than half a century the results of this great upheaval strike us with astonishment, for we find that both Britain and the United States have tacitly abandoned the theory of the equality of races, after having secured its practical application at such cost. British self-governing colonies, upon which the British government forced Negro equalization, have quietly relinquished their charters of autonomy and by such step, escaped co-racial control in these colonies. By placing themselves under control of the British crown, the white colonials have eliminated the Negro as a political factor in colonial affairs, preferring to be wholly subject to distant whites rather than share control with local blacks. Not only have the British abandoned the theory of the equality of races by negative measures, as in the West Indies, but there is a later and more striking development. The constitution of the Union of South Africa expressly limits seats in parliament to "British subjects of European descent" and the

Australians expressly deny suffrage to black aborigines. Within the past two decades British opinion as represented in Parliamentary sanction of the fundamental laws of British self-governing colonies, has been completely reversed. The United States has just as quietly and as surely abandoned the Negro policy arising as a result of the Civil War.

The change of attitude which has been affected is strikingly observable in the scientific world. The spirit of inquiry and search for facts upon which to base conclusions has led scientists to declare that the Negro is not a child race, that he is not a youthful Caucasian, but a full-grown, black adult, alien to the Caucasian in instinct and tendency. Far from espousing the enslavement of the Negro, the student, basing his conclusion upon the results of the thousands of years of race contact, asserts that the Negro problem is not essentially that of slavery or of freedom, but one arising from the physical presence of the Negro. Whether the Negro be slave or freeman, there will be a Negro problem as long as the two races remain together.

The abolitionist taught that freedom and equality were the solvent for the Negro problem; the slave-owner taught that slavery was the solvent; but the student of the results upon the white race of its historic contact with the black will affirm that neither slavery nor freedom will solve the problem, but that its only solution is separation of races, with the alternative of ultimate amalgamation of races. Not only has there been a marked reaction from the French theory of equality of races which, appropriated by the English and practically applied, brought hatred and ruin into the Anglo-Saxon world, but there has been a more notable advance. At first the French and German, later the English ethnologists, began investigations which, well worked out, have led them to assert that not merely the races are unequal as factors in civilization, but that there is clear demarkation of cultural values between groups of the same race. They point to the fact that modern civilization is not only Caucasic, but that it is farther restricted by being essentially Nordic. They will tell you that a Nordic (Aryan) people conquered and civilized India, Persia, Greece, and Rome; that just as the Nordic factor in modern civilization is the highest factor, so has it been for many thousand years.

The author would like the reader to realize that he is attempting to deal with our great problems not as a partisan writer, but with the permanency of our civilization in view; that he is not the source nor the chief exponent of the theories here presented. Especially would he like the reader to know that in his opinion, his years of travel and research have not revealed or added a single fact or theory not known to modern science. If there is value in this treatise, such value lies in the bringing to bear upon one theory many of the facts known to specialists at present. With this in view, the following extracts are presented from the thesis of an eminent scientist who has not lived in daily contact with the

colored races and consequently escapes the bias usually accredited to those students who have. The quotation is a clear exposition that not race merely, but breed within the race may produce civilization, and that culture may perish with the breed that produces it.

"No individual can acquire a particular characteristic unless the requisite factors entered into the composition of that individual at fertilization, being received from the father or from the mother, or from both, and consequently no individual can pass on to his offspring positive characters which he does not himself possess. . . . The factors which the individual receives from his parents and no others are those he can transmit to his offspring; and if a factor was received from one parent only, not more than one-half of the offspring, on an average, will inherit it. . . . It is only quite recently that prominent horse breeders have come to see that the dam matters as much as the sire. . . . The popular notion that any parents can have any kind of children within the racial limits is contrary to all experience, yet we have gravely entertained such ideas. . . . At various times it has been declared that men are born equal and that the inequality is brought about by unequal opportunities. Acquaintance with the pedigrees of disease soon show the fatuity of such fancies. . . . We, on the contrary, would feel it something of a puzzle if two parents, both mathematically gifted, had any children not mathematicians."

Civilized man, with his increasing power over nature, "invokes these powers for the preservation and maintenance of many of the inferior and all the defective members of his species. The inferior freely multiply, and the defective, if their defects be not so grave as to lead to their detention in prisons or asylums, multiply also without restraint. Heredity being strict in its action, the consequences are in civilized countries much what they would be in the kennels of the dog breeder who continued to preserve all his puppies, good and bad; the proportion of defectives increases.

"Genetic research will make it possible for a nation to elect by what sort of beings it will be represented not many generations hence. . . . The time cannot be far distant when both individuals and communities will begin to think in terms of biological fact. . . . To the deliberate intervention of civilization for the preservation of inferior strains there must sooner or later come an end, and before long nations will realize the responsibility they have assumed multiplying these 'cankers of a calm world and a long peace.'

"The extraordinary mentality of the Greeks of the fifth century B.C. has been described by Galton in his *Hereditary Genius,* a few generations later the display was over. . . . At the end of the sixth century came the 'reforms' of Cleisthenes (507 B.C.), which sanctioned foreign marriages and admitted to citizenship a number not only of resident aliens but also of manumitted slaves. As Aristotle says, Cleisthenes legislated with the deliberate purpose

of breaking up the phratries and gentes, in order that the various sections of the population might be mixed up as much as possible, and the old tribal associations abolished, . . . at the end of the fifth century the strict rule was re-enacted that a citizen must be of citizen birth on both sides, the population by that time may well have become largely mongrelized.

"Some experiments of this kind are going on at the present time, in the United States, for example, on a very large scale. Our grandchildren may live to see the characteristics of the American population entirely altered by the vast invasion of Italian and other South European elements. . . . Historians commonly ascribe such changes as occurred in Athens, and will almost certainly come to pass in the United States, to conditions of life, and especially to political institutions. *These agencies, however, do little unless they are such as to change the breed.* (Italics supplied.) Conditions give opportunities but cause no variations.

"The long-standing controversy as to the relative importance of nature and nurture, to use Galton's 'convenient jingle of words,' is drawing to an end, and of the overwhelming greater significance of nature there is no longer any possibility of doubt. It may be well briefly to recapitulate the arguments on which naturalists rely in coming to this decision, both as regards *races* (italics supplied) and individuals. First, as regards human individuals, there is the common experience of children of the same parents, reared under conditions sensibly identical, may develop quite differently, exhibiting in character and aptitudes a segregation just as great as in their colors or hair forms. Conversely all the more marked aptitudes have at various times appeared and not rarely reached perfection in circumstances least favorable to their development. Next, appeal can be made to the universal experience of the breeder, whether of animals or plants, that strain is absolutely essential; that though bad conditions may easily spoil a good strain, yet, under the best conditions a bad strain will never give a fine result. It is faith, not evidence, which encourages educationalists and economists to hope so greatly in the ameliorating effects of the conditions of life."[10]

That the Roman world was "bastardized with Levantine mongrels" (Stoddard), and that the change in race gradually wrought a change in institutions is clearly recognized by Madison Grant, in his *The Passing of the Great Race,* who says: "In the last days of the Republic Caesar was the leader of the mob, the Plebs, which by that time had ceased to be of Roman blood. Pompey's party represented the remnants of the old native Roman aristocracy and was defeated at Pharsalia, not by Caesar's plebeian clients but by his Nordic legionaries from Gaul. Cassius and Brutus were the last successors of Pompey and their overthrow at Philippi was the final death blow to the Republican party; with them the native Roman

10 Extracts from *Heredity,* by Professor William Bateson, M.A., F.R.S.—two addresses in 1914 at the Australian meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Reprinted by permission in the Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1915.

families disappear almost entirely. . . . The abjectness of the Roman spirit under the Empire is thus to be explained by a change in race."

CHAPTER VIII

Civilizations That Are Imperiled Through Contact with Colored Races: Latin America

"A SINGLE HALF-CASTE RACE, with here the Negro and there the Indian predominating over the conquering Spaniard, obtains from the Atlantic to the Pacific, . . . from the frontier of the United States to the southern limits of the continent. . . . American Indians, Negroes, Orientals, and Europeans of different origin, are creating the race of the future in homes in which mixed blood is the rule. . . . The Negroes of the Congo have mingled equally with the Spaniard and the Indian. The African woman satisfied the ardor of the conquerors: she has darkened the skin of the race. . . . The Negro is a formidable influence in America (Latin America). But they are revenged for their enslavement in that their blood is mingled with that of their masters. . . . The black race is doing its work and the continent is returning to its primitive barbarism. This retrogression constitutes a very serious menace. In South America civilization is dependent upon the numerical predominance of the victorious Spaniard, on the triumph of the white over the mulatto, the Negro and the Indian."[1]

Holland and England—Teutonic America! Portugal and Spain—Latin America! The first transform a wilderness into a mighty civilization; the second conquer a continent, implant a culture and preside over its decay.

In North America the Caucasian, after three centuries of contact with colored races, constitutes ninety per cent of the population. In Latin America the Caucasian constitutes less than ten per cent of the population. The remaining ten per cent of the inhabitants of North America are divided between the black and red races and the mongrel offspring of these races mixed with each other and with the white. The remaining ninety per cent of the inhabitants of Latin America are likewise divided between black and red and their mongrel offspring resulting from their unions with each other and with the

[1] *Latin America: Its Rise and Its Progress*, by F. Garcia Calderon, with Preface by Raymond Poincaré of the French Academy, now Prime Minister of the French Republic. Calderon is a Peruvian diplomat. His work published in 1913 is of great importance in that the author sees that it is miscegenation that is working the ruin of Latin America.

white. North America is nine-tenths white; Latin America is nine-tenths colored. North America possesses a vigorous, expanding, self-sustaining civilization; South America, a puny, restricted, dependent culture which, apart from the extreme south of the continent, is receding before a "terrible hybridism."

Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Brazil possess the whitest populations, and this fact, together with recent immigration and capital from Europe, accounts for their relative advancement. These countries are the strength and hope of the continent. They link it in a racial and cultural way with civilization.

We cannot understand North America without knowing England, nor South America without knowing Spain. We may say that England kept the northern continent white and that Spain mongrelized the southern. The one sought homes for race and civilization; the other, by failing to furnish white wives for her colonists, inaugurated the most colossal example of miscegenation that the world has known. In a lecture at Clark University in 1913, Senor Pezet, Minister from Peru, contrasting the racial history of the two Americas said: "Your men formed an unmixed mass . . . they came determined to settle down and so they brought their families with them. . . . Our men did not bring their women and families until many years after the conquest, and, in consequence, the Spaniards from the very commencement took unto themselves Indian women and the offspring became the 'Mestizos,' a mixed race that the haughty, pure Castilian in Spain never countenanced, although they were of their own flesh and blood. . . . This mixing of the races—white and Indian—after a time was not frowned upon by the haughty Spanish monarchy; on the contrary, it was encouraged, it being considered the best possible means of establishing a uniform race."

With the coming of Negro slaves from Africa to the Latin colonies there was added another racial element to be incorporated into the "uniform race." The encouraging of the colonial white to intermarry with the colored races in the colonies was not confined to Spain. With this end in view, efforts more or less successful have been made by Portugal, France, Holland, Great Britain, the United States, Belgium, and Germany, as well as by Spain.

The desire of the whites who live away from the colored to encourage the whites who live with the colored to marry the colored is a startling phenomenon, terrible in its results, which may be traced through centuries of race contact. As late

as 1911, the Belgian government sought to promote unions between whites and Negroes in the Belgian Congo, while in the year following the combined vote of the clerics and socialists in the German Reichstag passed a resolution praying the government to repeal the laws forbidding intermarriage between blacks and whites and leave the races free to mix in the German colonies.

England implanted a race and culture in the New World; Spain, a culture. English culture adhered to the English race, Spanish culture was ephemeral, subsiding as a result of miscegenation.

Let us understand the Spain that conquered South America. It is the sixteenth century. Spain is possessed of a remarkable history. Its original inhabitants were small brunets (Mediterraneans), but Nordic Gauls conquered the country about 500 B.C. and introduced the Aryan speech. The Gauls quickly mixed with the natives and the inhabitants were known to the Romans as Celtiberians. Before the Roman times, Phoenicians and Carthagenians had formed trading posts along its shores. Then came the Romans, who remained for seven centuries. Roman domination reached far inland, everywhere except in the northern mountains. When the Roman Empire was being overrun by Germanic tribes, Spain was occupied, in whole or in part, by Alan, Suevi, Vandal, and Goth (Visigoth). The invaders were at no time a numerically great host. The Vandals, when leaving Spain for conquest in North Africa, numbered but 80,000, old and young men, women, children and slaves. The invaders were few, but formed in Spain, as elsewhere, a conquering aristocracy. The Gothic line of rulers began in Spain in 531 A.D. In the north there were a Caucasian people, unmixed with colored blood, the Basques, whom neither the Germans nor their Roman predecessors could fully subdue. These people are to play an important part in the civilizing of South America. Chile, that is, white Chile, is Basque and Gothic.

The German tribes, supported by Spanish factions, engaged in generations of warfare with each other. Gothic supremacy was attained, and then came the great Mohammedan invasion from North Africa. The Arab-Berber-Negro hosts came to stay for centuries.

Early inhabitants of the Spanish Peninsula offered many physical similarities to the whites and near-whites of North Africa. In North Africa, and in Spain as well, Negro blood had left its impress prior to the conquest by the Moslems

(Mohammedans). Not upon all, but it was unmistakably there, and was to be greatly augmented in later centuries, first by the large negroid element marshaled under the Crescent, and even more so at a later date when Spain and Portugal entered upon the African Negro slave trade. Negro blood has qualified materially the race type of large numbers of Spanish (in Spain as well as in Spanish colonies), and this alien element in the Spanish race is not to be overlooked. What Negro blood did to the Spanish immigrants of the New World, it did also to the Spanish of the south of the peninsula—lowered them in the racial and cultural scale.

It required more than seven centuries to rid Spain of the powerful Mohammedans. Teutonic armies had arrested the advance of the Mohammedans in Europe as they had previously crushed the Hun, who threatened to subjugate white Europe beneath the heel of the mixbreeds of Asia.

The German feuds of Spain were finally healed through the intermarriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, "red haired Goths." These great rulers expelled the Moors (Mohammedans), but their reign is marked by a much greater event.

The Lombards, another Germanic tribe, had conquered and settled in North Italy. They retained race and institutions for centuries. The so-called "Italian Renaissance" was in reality a Lombard or Nordic renaissance. From Nordic Italy there came to the Nordic court of Spain a blond wanderer who believed the world to be round, and that by sailing west a new route to India might be discovered. Snorted at as a visionary, he was denied aid. For a period of eighteen years he urged the possibility of a western passage. A woman listened and believed, and the New World sprang into existence. How much the Latin world owes to Isabella and how much the Teutonic world owes to Elizabeth! These women believed men who were called "visionaries," and supported their ambitions.

But Spain was a mongrel, not a Gothic country. The Goths were ever a minority, and the centuries intervening from the Gothic conquest to the present have eliminated the pure Goth, apart from the nobility, by process of miscegenation.[2] From mongrel Spain, presided over by a Teutonic aristocracy, came swarms of adventurers to the New World. The Mohammedans had been expelled, but not until their blood had been indissolubly mixed with that of the south Spaniards. A mongrel people with dissimilar aptitudes and race traits transferred to

[2] "The Gothic and hereditary nobility is foreign to the evolution of the Peninsula." (Calderon.)

the Western World would not lose their ethnic tendencies, and this fact should make the understanding of Latin American history an easier matter. Add to this the varying degree of blood mixture of the Spanish conquerors with the Indians, whom the Spanish found in possession of the continent and with the Negroes whom they imported from Africa, and you will have the racial background which constitutes the fundamental viewpoint in interpreting history.

England sent Saxons. Spain sent Basques and mongrels ruled by a Gothic aristocracy. The Saxon settlers in North America slowly extended their boundaries, moving before them the savage and barbarian tribes with whom they were in contact. The Spaniard, instead of removing the aborigines and implanting his race in their stead, conquered and ruled over them, marrying their women. In Central America and the northern part of South America, the European conquerors were in contact with the relatively advanced cultures of Mexico, Colombia and Peru. These barbarian civilizations were in process of decay and were possessed of great riches, the results of centuries of accumulation. The riches were a powerful factor in determining the disaster which has attended the white race in Latin America. The Spanish sought the treasures of the New World and, to retain rule with ease, the conquistadors married the Indian aristocracy; the soldiers and other adventurers formed unions with the lesser nobility and the wealthier middle class. The history of colonial control will establish that such alliances promote peace between conquerors and conquered—promote peace for a period, but beyond this is revolution and anarchy.

It was the half-castes of Haiti who fomented the murder of the whites. The mixbreeds of Haiti, as the mixbreeds elsewhere, turned to the blacks when refused equality with the whites. The Indian and the Negro give but little trouble to the whites; the agent of unrest is the disgruntled and touchy mixbreed. Grant the mixbreed equalization with the white and he becomes a cruel oppressor of the black. This was true in South and Central America, in Africa, and notably true in the United States prior to 1865, where an increasing number of mulattoes, quadroons and octoroons were slave owners and had become the fiercest upholders of slavery.

Deny the partly black full and unrestricted access to the white man's homes and daughters and you transform him into the bitterest enemy of the white man. Were it not for the super-sensitive mongrels of North America, there would be no

clamor for "equality" of races; nor would there be any eminent "Negroes." Booker Washington was a mulatto, Frederick Douglas was a mulatto. Bruce, Turner, DuBois, Miller—these are not Negroes! Were they white men they would be obscure, but by social custom and by law they are recognized to be Negroes, and as such they stand at the head of their race.

Imagine the mulattoes and the nearer whites of the United States to be greatly augmented in numbers. Suppose they constitute two-thirds of the population. They possess the ballot. The white one-third of the population is the cultural aristocracy, but is divided into factions. Let us say that the Democratic Party, in order to make its ascendency sure, lays special claim to the Negro and mixbreed vote, promising full social and political equality. The Democrats would secure the support of the negroids and control the nation. Caucasian ideals would assert a dwindling influence in politics, economics, and social aims. No white could hold high office without mongrel support, and the prospective office holder could not obtain such support without special concessions to the mixbreed element. White politicians would vie with each other in making promises which sooner or later would have to be fulfilled. Eventually the nation would cease to reflect Caucasian ideals and cease to represent Caucasian culture. The pall of Africanism would settle upon the land. Mulatto senators! Revolutions! Creative ingenuity gone, the arts and industries would decay, sky-scrapers would crumble, plantations would be weed-grown, as they are in Haiti. The halls of the national capitol, once familiar to the noblest of the Saxons, would echo to the tread of mulattoes, and a mixbreed would sit as President. This picture is repugnant and we refuse to visualize it, but Egypt knew it in all its essentials; and India, and what is more germane at this point, Latin America.

The history of Latin America countries shows a steady rise of the mixbreed to power. Ofttimes the residue of whites in the various Latin American governments was divided into factions. The whites in their bitter enmity would seek aid from the mixbreeds. White or near-white leaders led the mixbreed to ascendency. The white influence became less and less and Latin America fell lower and lower in the cultural scale in keeping with concomitant loss in the racial scale.

There are many North Americans who are not aware that the African Negro was enslaved in Latin America a century before his arrival at Jamestown. The Caucasian of the southern continent has had more than a hundred years longer in

which to interbreed with the Negro than the Caucasian of the northern continent. The Spanish and Portuguese brought Negro slaves to their colonies in 1502. The Latin American Negroes came from Africa, as did those of North America. Between 1759 and 1903, 642,000 Negroes entered Brazil, and between 1792 and 1810 Cuba received 89,000. There are eleven million Negroes and negroids in the United States at the present time, but there is a still greater number in the Latin American countries.

Apart from the numbers of African Negroes whose destination was Brazil and Cuba, tens of thousands more were distributed throughout northern South America and Central America. Argentina, Uruguay and Chile, at the south of the continent, received but few, but with such numbers as they did receive they interbred. As a pure black, the Negro does not exist in these latter countries. However, the race types of these states are only slightly modified by the Negro, but rather by the Indian. There are pure whites in the south who are descended from the early colonials. To these whites there have come large additions of the European born which has served to augment the Caucasic element. In Central America the inhabitants of Costa Rica are more nearly white, hardly influenced by the Negro, and not hopelessly so by the Indian.

In spite of the mistakes of the past, Latin America is not hopeless. The country is sparsely populated, and there is room for millions of immigrants. Around the nucleus of whites now there, others from Europe and North America will come, and parts of the continent will be saved for the Caucasian. Ever closer relations of the parts hopelessly mongrelized are to be maintained with the white world, and these portions, such as Mexico, Central America, Cuba, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, and northern Brazil are destined to possess a culture above their race ability. It will be an imposed culture, but it will be permanent.

Brazil, in its northeastern provinces, possesses a race mixture distinctly more African than European in composition. South Brazil has the whiter of the Portuguese and is further strengthened by the presence of nearly half a million Germans, Swiss and other Nordic elements. Of this number the Germans constitute possibly 250,000. The Germans "are established in southern Brazil, where they rule the municipalities, enjoy rights of self government, despite the Negroes and half castes, and live in aristocratic isolation" (Calderon). The German colonial, true to the instinct of the Teutonic breed, avoids inter-

marriage with the Negroes and mixbreeds, but he does marry the Portuguese, who in turn marry Negroes readily, and it would seem that miscegenation would thus reduce the German increase, though it should not succeed at an early date in eliminating the Teutonic type.

The Germans, together with the white Portuguese and newly arrived Europeans, constitute the sole progressive element of Brazil, though they form less than half of the population of some twenty-six million. Agassiz, when traveling in Brazil shortly after the American Civil War, warned his countrymen to be content with freeing the blacks and not to interbreed with them, as did the Brazilians. Later travelers have told us that Brazil was a country in which whites and blacks were interbreeding, and that the prosperity of Brazil was substantial recognition that miscegenation was not injuring the nation. These advocates of miscegenation overlook the fact that white Brazil is both a geographical and racial fact, and that it is visibly distinct from black Brazil. White Brazil (South Brazil) is the source and center of Brazilian progress. Such writers might as well credit the mixbreeds of the United States with American advancement as to assert that negroid Brazil is responsible for Brazilian prosperity. Such progress as there is arises from the whites of the south and from the large influx of European immigration and capital.

Latin America is an extraordinarily rich country. Its created wealth and natural resources in the hands of its present inhabitants incite European cupidity in much the same way and to the same extent as did its wealth of four centuries ago. The Monroe Doctrine protects its political independence. The Monroe Doctrine has prevented the continent from being peopled by an able race. From this viewpoint the United States may be said to have stood between Latin America and civilization.

In Latin America there are twenty nations. If you read their federal constitutions, you will find that they have modeled their governments after that of the United States. Nearer our borders are the Central American states which, in common with the rest of the Latin American states, have copied, with but little modification, the Constitution of the United States. But "Industry, commerce, and agriculture are in a state of decay, and the unruly imagination of the creole expends itself in constitutions, programmes, and lyrical discourses; in these regions anarchy is sovereign mistress. . . . The double and inevitable influence of tradition and race cannot be destroyed

by means of improvised laws. Central America borrowed from the United States their mode of suffrage, the federal system, the organization of the jury, and the Code of Louisiana. But popular agitation condemned the institution of the jury; the codes borrowed from the United States did not annihilate barbarism, and the federal system was powerless to enforce unity." (Calderon.)

There is a tradition among Saxons that they are not as the Latins, who readily intermarry with colored peoples. The Saxon seems to believe that his race pride alone will preserve his race when he is in contact with the colored. This sense of security is unwarranted. The Saxon ideal does not extend in practical application to all the members of the Saxon race. The Saxon does not intermarry readily with the Negro and other colored races—not readily, but he does intermarry. Hollanders in South America and in the East Indies; British subjects in the West Indies and in South Africa; Americans in the Philippines, Hawaii, and in the United States when the laws will permit; Germans, in all countries other than the former German colonies—have established that the Saxon's reliance upon a sense of race superiority is an illusion.

The author listened to a remarkable series of incriminations and counter incriminations among Northernborn and Southernborn Americans in Manila. While discussing the "squaw men" of the Philippines, the Northernborn Americans affirmed that it was the Southernborn Americans who took unto themselves the greater number of colored wives. This assertion was hotly denied by the Southerners. Then followed a mentioning of numerous Americans by name who had married colored women. Most of them were proved to be of Southern birth; one was the son of a Kentucky judge, two or three were from the author's native state, Tennessee. The Southerners said that they were not prepared to enumerate the offenders, but were sure that the balance was on the other side. The Saxon ideal has certainly not proved so successful elsewhere as in the Southern States. The color line is there after three centuries of contact with the Negro. But the residence of many individual Southerners in the Philippines, and the intermarriage of not a few of their number with colored women, seems to imply that the South has been saved by legal prohibition of intermarriage with the colored rather than by a sense of race superiority.

While the Saxon has sinned but little against race and institutions through the legal ceremony of marriage between blacks

and whites, he has sinned much by illegal intermixture. The mixbreed, whether by marriage or by concubinage, offers the same social problem and in the end the same social danger.

The German colonial government and certain of the states within the American Union were aware that race pride is not sufficient to preserve the race, and they instituted laws to control the sub-normal whites who gravitate Negroward, but with these exceptions the Saxon peoples have been content to rely upon race pride rather than legal prohibition. The Boers of the Transvaal and the Free State had a legal color line, but in South Africa the Boer ideal of race purity, never unkindly applied, has been greatly weakened by the British domination of the country. The German colonies having passed to Britain and France, it remains to be seen whether the color line will be maintained.

One great value of the legal prohibition of interracial marriage lies in the fact that through illegal unions the mixbreeds are accredited to the black race, whereas through legal unions the mixbreeds find entrance to white circles. Legal unions blacken the white race; illegal unions whiten the black race. Marriages between the whites and the blacks destroy the color line. Illegal unions between the whites and blacks create an element of perpetual danger, but the mixbreeds may not immediately imperil the color line. The white race, if Saxon, will remain white for centuries if interracial marriage is made unlawful. Such prohibition would also lengthen the purity of the Latin peoples, who everywhere interbred with colored races.

It should not be overlooked by North America that the aggressive, dominating, conquering "Latins" who extended civilization to much of the Western World were, in reality, Nordic in origin, men of the North European breed. It was the Gothic aristocracy of Spain and Portugal who sent the explorers. It was France, as yet dominated by Teutonic (Frank) blood and ideals, which first disputed Spain's supremacy in America; and the first colonists of the French islands were "Normans, Bretons and people from the west of France; Flemings and Picards, later on Rhenish Germans and Alsatians; men and women of the Nordic race."[3]

The same race stock that peopled North America discovered and dominated South America. Possibly the sole reason for the difference in the cultures of the two continents lies in the fact that the Nordic element among the Latins was an aristocracy only, numerically weak. The Nordic element in the Latins was

[3] *The Negro in the New World,* p. 132, Sir Harry Johnston.

not of sufficient volume to clear the forests, remove the aborigines, and perpetuate European race and culture. From this let us learn that Teutonic people, in adverse environment, may be unable to stem the agencies of devolution which invariably accompany race contact. Races in contact will eventually mix.

The Nordic element in Latin America was not protected by laws forbidding intermarriage. Rather the haughty Goth and Frank found himself at first encouraged, and later, in effect, compelled by Portugal, Spain and France to interbreed with the Negro and the Indian. The whites in Europe dominated the whites in the colonies. The whites in Europe ruled selfishly for personal profit. Latin Europe decreed that Latin America become mongrel in order that Latin America might be more easily controlled. Blind Europe legalized miscegenation; for the sake of a temporary peace, bartered the prospect of a permanent civilization.

What of the future in Latin America? A future possessed not merely of cultures, such as those of Argentina, southern Brazil, Uruguay and Chile, but the establishment of conditions whereby the entire continent shall have a civilization self-sustained and progressive. South and Central America have richness of soil, timber, certain ores, and precious stones; great variety of climate, differences in degree of rainfall, and a larger proportion of land susceptible to agricultural pursuits than has North America. There is less desert region in the southern continent than in the northern; and while much of the southern continent is tropical or semi-tropical, the experiments at Panama and elsewhere in the tropics have demonstrated the possibility of Europeans living permanently in these regions. We have been told that, far from the white man being unable to work in the tropics, he cannot live there without the exercise which work entails.[4] Strenuous activity is essential to health near the equator, even more so than in temperate climates.

Both Central and South America abound in mountains and plateaus. The West Indies, Haiti in particular, and the south of the continent, have delightful climates, to which the European is readily adjusted.

The disappearing school of ethnologists who have laid stress upon environment, rather than race, as the essential factor in the development of civilizations, and have urged euthenics rather than eugenics as the agency to promote progress, have

4 The press reported the late Surgeon-General William C. Gorgas, U.S. Army, to this effect.

before them in Latin America, southern, eastern, and northern Africa; in south and southeastern Europe; in portions of Asia and Oceania, situations which they have not been able to explain. In these countries, civilization is advanced or is backward in proportion to the influence or lack of influence of Caucasian peoples, whatever their climates or other natural environment. Egypt is retrogressive, dependent upon white nations for civilized culture. Yet Egypt, when white, possessed a civilization for thirty centuries. The environment (natural) of Italy, Greece and India has not changed since the days of their great cultures. There has been no essential change in environment, but there has been radical change in race stock.

The Western World shows that, regardless of environment, the more Caucasian the people the more civilized the country. "One may say that the admixture of the prevailing strains with black blood has been disastrous to these democracies (Latin American). In applying John Stuart Mills' law of concomitant variations to the development of Spanish America, one may determine a necessary relation between the numerical proportion of Negroes and the intensity of civilization. Wealth increases and internal order is greater in the Argentine, Uruguay, and Chile, and it is precisely in these countries that the proportion of Negroes has been low. . . . In Cuba, Santo Domingo and some of the republics of Central America, and certain of the states of the Brazilian Confederation, where the children of slaves constitute the greater portion of the population, internal disorders are continual. A black republic, Haiti, demonstrates by its revolutionary history the political incapacity of the Negro race." (Calderon.) This writer sees in the mulatto the evil result "of the inferior elements of the races that unite," and states that "the mixbreed is weak in character and body and is given to gross passion."

From the North American viewpoint it will readily be admitted that the white man, and the white man only, can develop Latin America. When North America and Europe begin to act upon this conviction they will find a residue of whites in this great area of miscegenation who will readily welcome the coming of North Americans and Europeans, who will by the increase of their numbers finally redeem Latin America from its mongrelization. "Only a plentiful immigration can establish the shattered equilibrium of the American races." (Calderon.) Let us give all honor to the whites who have withstood four centuries of hybridization. They constitute, together with later immigrants, but ten per cent of the

population, but they and their kind are the hope of the future, the nucleus of the Caucasian population that shall eventually fill the continent.

CHAPTER IX

Civilizations That Are Imperiled Through Contact with Colored Races: South Africa

Forty-six years after the English had settled at Jamestown (1607), Hollanders founded a colony at Cape Town at the southern point of Africa. The African colony was a half-way station on the sea route from Europe to India and was generally used for this purpose until the opening of the Suez canal. Settled by Hollanders, the colony was later strengthened by the arrival of Germans and by French Huguenots (Protestants who were compelled to flee from France). French Huguenots were mainly of Teutonic extraction, and the South African is, or was, as purely Teutonic in blood as were the American colonists from Holland and England. The settlers were a people like unto ourselves, and it should be borne in mind that in this chapter we are not dealing with an alien race. Differences between the evolution of South Africa and that of the United States will have been determined by isolation of the former or by local environment, not by race. South Africa did not receive a bountiful supply of European immigration, was deprived of a close cultural contact with Europe, and was given the task under these limitations of perpetuating a civilization which was to be in daily contact with the African Negro.

When the Dutch settled at the Cape, the southern extremity of the continent was occupied by Hottentots and Bushmen.[1] The Bantu (Kaffirs) were not farther south than Natal, but were then, as they had been for centuries, slowly pressing before them or exterminating the inhabitants of that territory since known as Cape Colony. The white man, invading the Hottentot lands from the south, eventually met the black man invading the Hottentot lands from the north. The first armed contest between black and white for possession of Hottentot territory did not occur until 1779, three years after the war for American independence had begun. From this time, the country was in constant disturbance, war following war for three

[1] Three divisions of the Negro family are represented in South Africa—the dwarfish and brutish Bushmen; the Hottentot, taller and lighter skinned than the Bushmen; and the Bantu, or large blacks governed by a distinctly lighter colored aristocracy. Of the Bantu, the Zulu and Kosa are best known to Europeans living apart from Africa.

quarters of a century. England and Holland fought for sea supremacy, and England won. English forces occupied Cape Town in 1795 and remained until 1803. They came again in 1806 and remained as conquerors until 1814, in which year the colony was ceded to Great Britain.

South Africans, for more than a century, have been in contact with the most capable elements of the Negro race. The Negroes does not, as the Indian, resist and perish; he submits and survives. The Indian has vanished before the Saxon in North America; in South Africa there are one and one-half million whites and six million blacks.

The Caucasian imparts his culture to colored races with whom he comes in contact, and, by bridging the cultural chasm between the races, reduces the visible evidence of his superiority. The artificial cultural elevation of the colored races produces complicated political and social problems which tend to amalgamate the races. Neither the colored beneficiaries of Caucasian culture, the whites newly arrived in the colonies, nor the great reservoir of whites in the homeland are able fully to appreciate that the culture of the colored is borrowed or imposed. This lack of understanding will be seen to have worked untold injury to South African civilization.

The Hollanders mixed somewhat with the Hottentot, but by the time of their contact with the Kaffir they had declared miscegenation illegal. Such laws, however, later became inoperative in some places, and, at a still later date, have become imperfectly applied in all places, partly by reason of British influence. The Dutch owned slaves at the time the colony was ceded to Great Britain, and the British officials at first encouraged and profited by traffic in slaves, but by 1830, the great British emanicpation program was absorbing the attention of that nation and dominating its colonial policy.

After encouraging traffic in slaves for more than two hundred years (1562–1807) and accumulating much wealth by such traffic, the British, finding the greatest slave market closed against them,[2] abolished the traffic, and, within a short while, were clamoring for the freeing of the slaves, many of whom they had recently sold to the colonials. This new move on the part of Britain led to great indignation in the British colonies in Africa and the West Indies, for the doctrine of equality accompanied the doctrine of freedom. Freeing the

2 The United States as a legal slave market ceased to exist in 1808. The constitutional provision setting this date was enacted in 1787. Every effort in the British Parliament to abolish the slave traffic failed until 1807—one year before the largest market was closed against the slaver.

slaves would bankrupt the planters; equalization of races would imperil their civilization. The colonials' assertion that equalization of the races would destroy the supremacy of the whites upon whom the civilization depended (the whites in all the colonies were greatly outnumbered by the colored) did not appeal to the British at home, who, by this time, had worked themselves into a frenzy in behalf of the Negro, whom they had sold to the colonists at great profit. But the economic argument did influence Europe, for the various nations there looked upon the colonies as territories to exploit and hesitated to lower their productivity. The British government, impelled to immediate action by the frenzied partisans of the Negro, appropriated a sum for partial payment to the despoiled colonials. The amount set aside for South Africa was so small and had to come by such devious methods, through the hands of British officials who had lately taken over the colony, that some of the slave owners did not apply for their share.

The South African felt keenly the loss occasioned by this semi-confiscation of his property, but neither in South Africa nor in the West Indies did the colonials offer effective resistance. They were angered, but not incited to revolt. However, there was a program in preparation in white England, which was soon to be enforced in her colonies, and which aroused the colonials to the highest pitch of desperation.

The colonies had no sooner acquiesced in the abolition of slavery at their cost than they were confronted by the policy of compulsory equalization of blacks and whites. The abolition doctrine of freeing the slaves at the slave owners' cost had angered the colonials; the negrophilist doctrine of compulsory equalization of whites with blacks drove the colonials to despair. The West Indies threatened revolt, but the blacks were innumerable and the mighty British nation was back of them. Some whites migrated from the West Indies, but this by no means deterred the British government.

In South Africa, however, there was possibility of escape. Beyond the coast lay the interior to which British authority did not extend. This land was possessed by hostile savages and was cut off from communication with civilization. But the Saxon has never submitted willingly to equalization with the Negro; and as the settled lands near the coast were being overrun with British religious fanatics who had been caught up into the seventh heaven of mad negrophilism, there remained but one alternative—to submit to the powerful British government or seek freedom and race purity in the savage

interior. Like the slave-owning South in the United States, only a small portion of the whites in South Africa owned slaves.[3]

The owners of ninety-eight per cent of the slaves remained in Cape Colony. Slave owners represented the wealth of a colony. Equalizing the whites with the blacks affected the poorer whites to a greater degree than the wealthier. It is the former who come into competition with the blacks.

The voortrekkers, then, were non-slave-owning whites fleeing from British negrophilism which threatened their race and culture. They were an austere, hard praying, hard fighting, type of Saxon who had acquiesced in the British occupation of the colony and in the British emancipation of their slaves, but were fleeing before the British policy of reducing them to the status of the Negro. With rifle and axe, herds and wagons, colonists descended from Hollanders, Huguenots, Germans, English, Scotch and Irish wound their way slowly, first, north by east, going into Natal. The emigrants had no more than settled down when they were again confronted by the British who, coming by sea, dispossessed them. From Natal the hunted emigrants turned northward and, by agreement with the Negroes of the present territories of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, occupied these lands. The Zulus, now at the height of their power, sought to dispossess the white man and destroy him as they had the Hottentot, Bushmen, and the Bantu tribes which had resisted their onset.

The white colonists promised protection to the tribes into whose country they had come—promised to protect them from the terrible Zulu warriors, who knew neither pity nor remorse. Southward were their former homes, and inducements were given the voortrekkers to return, for their leaving was a financial loss to the British. Famine and pestilence depleted their numerical strength. Beyond them were the innumerable hosts of the triumphant and all-powerful Zulus, the best physiqued and the most terrible warriors that the Negro race has produced. Would they return and submit to their race and institutions being submerged by the madness of Britain, or would they contest for the privilege of remaining white and worshiping God according to their own consciences? On the coast, British missionaries, believing themselves to be the sole custodians of the Gospel, had arrived and begun to marry Negroes. The missionaries were founding co-racial schools and forbidding the word "color" to be used in these schools. Mis-

3 In 1860, less than one-fifth of the Southerners were slave owners.

sionaries were parading white and black children upon the streets, causing them to carry banners with the inscription *"ex uno sanguine"* (of one blood). The colony itself fell under the influence of the missionaries. These strange custodians of the Gospel caused to be recalled colonial governors who would not accede to their program of equalizing the Caucasian with the Negro. England was seething with "philanthropy," a philanthropy which was concerned almost wholly with the blacks, not the whites. In vain did the colonists still residing in Cape Colony call upon the mother country for redress. In vain did English settlers at Grahamstown, newly arrived from England, attempt to explain to the English at home that civilization itself was imperiled.

The British government had forbidden retaliation upon the Negro tribes who, now finding no effective resistance, were overrunning the borders, murdering the whites and looting the plantations. When the whites pleaded with the mother country for the privilege of avenging murders and depredations committed by the powerful and ever predacious Zulu-Kosa clans, the suffering and imperiled colonial whites were denied protection and forbidden to take measures to protect themselves. A colonial secretary (Lord Glenelg) impatiently replied that the Kaffirs were innocent and unoffending creatures and if they were treated properly by the whites, they would cease their invasions. But these merciless warriors had already destroyed a million people of their own race.

England was mad, drunk with the cocksureness that she alone was custodian of the Christian religion and that the Christian religion taught equality of races. English missionaries informed the English at home that the whites were fleeing from the coast because of their desire to preserve the institution of slavery in the interior, that it was the disgruntled ex-slave-owner fleeing from the righteousness of British Christianity. This was false. We have seen that the owners of ninety-eight per cent of the slaves did not leave Cape Colony. The English settlers at Grahamstown knew this; and as the emigrant farmers passed on their way to the north, the English settlers presented the Boer leader with a Bible. On receipt of this gift, the emigrants prayed, as was their wont, and continued their journey into the interior.[4]

The soldiers of Cromwell and the Puritans of New Eng-

[4] The situation in South Africa was much like that in the United States during the Reconstruction. The Southerners, like their kindred in South Africa, submitted, in good faith, to emancipation of their slaves, but opposed the enforced equalization of the races.

land were not made of sterner fiber than the voortrekkers (first emigrants) of South Africa. The first could not have prayed more; they did not dare as much. The voortrekkers foresaw that Cape Colony was to become mongrelized. They foresaw that the whites there were to sink ever lower into the Hottentot-Kaffir bog. They visualized the future and determined to perpetuate their race in a land where they could survive as a white people. With racial corruption behind them and the dreaded Zulu before them, they opposed the Zulu. Their leaders were deceived by Zulu treachery and slain. Battle followed battle. Camps composed of women and children were surprised by savages professing friendship, and Saxon women fought Zulu warriors as their distant mothers had fought the cohorts of Rome.

Other emigrants came to the rescue, and upon the ground where their leaders had been slain and where their women had died, the remnants of the first migration, and those who had come to their assistance, swore to avenge the fate of their fallen comrades. Professing desire to sell land to the whites, the Zulus had murdered those whom they had persuaded to come to their kraals to effect the purchase; then the black warriors had hurried to the unsuspecting camps of the women and children, murdering them. This perfidy on the part of the blacks aroused the berserker in the whites. The black warriors knew no mercy, they should receive none. They outnumbered the emigrants one hundred to one, but the whites were mounted and possessed firearms.

The Zulus, armed with assagai and shield, true to their warlike tradition, would attempt encircling movements, their line perfectly drilled in close formation.[5] With the hiss of the snake from the throats of thousands of warriors, the blacks charged the whites time and again. The voortrekkers, riding out of range of the arrows, fired and reloaded and again fired with that true aim which the American colonial knew and which made the killing of an antelope at six hundred yards an unmentioned feat by the early settlers of South Africa.

It was the culture of the white man in the possession of a few whites that rendered them triumphant over innumerable opponents of a colored race. The Zulu died, but he did not kill, his courage fled and his power and influence waned. Victory was gained and peace secured by a handful of whites in

5 The Zulu drill was an adaptation from that of the English army. An exiled Zulu prince while in Cape Town observed the English maneuvers. He secured a horse (they were unknown in Zululand) and returned to his country. The horse proved such a curiosity that its owner was restored to favor.

armed contest with the most formidable armies the Negro race has ever organized. Peace was secured, not alone for the whites but for the vastly more numerous Negro peoples whom the Zulus were exterminating, and these oppressed Negroes rejoiced in the coming of the Caucasians.

The British Colonial Office never forgave the colonists who fled to escape the British Negro policy. Now followed three quarters of a century of relentless persecution of these emigrants. Through missionary influence, treaties whereby the emigrants were privileged to receive arms and ammunition from the coast were disregarded by the British authorities, and the colonists were left to the mercy of the Zulu. Already the British government had headed off the emigrants when they had settled in Natal. Now that they were settled in the Transvaal and the Free State, they had scarcely made themselves secure when upon them again came the mighty empire. An empire which at this period had a greater regard for the welfare of the black than for the welfare of the white. Gladstone spoke with shame of the world's greatest empire persecuting the world's weakest republics and promised redress, but when his party came to power it was not expedient to carry out his pre-election promise.

Three times the armies of the empire invaded the territories of the small republics. The republics, driven to desperation, resisted the tyranny of the whites with the same energy they had shown in their contest with the blacks. British policy was ever vacillating. Having occupied the Free State and the inhabitants there having accepted the rule which it was impossible for fifteen thousand farmers to resist, the British, after suffering reverses at the hands of the now powerful Basuto nation, which, through missionary influence, had been established to cut off the emigrants from civilization, suddenly abandoned the farmers to the tender care of the triumphant Mosesh (the founder of the Basuto nation). After repulsing the British and concluding a satisfactory peace with them, Mosesh turned in terrible wrath upon the white farmers whom Britain had subdued and then abandoned.

Now follows a great glory and then a great humiliation which every Saxon must feel when contemplating the events. The farmers defeated the Basuto. In a two years' war they struggled alone with this nation, which was now armed with the white man's guns. Dutch cavalry rode with resistless energy through the Basuto country destroying inhabitants and food supplies. Black warriors who had recently held their own

with British forces were driven to their mountain recesses; and, cowering in pass and peak that had never known a white invader, the Basuto chief who had essayed to destroy the white settlements recognized defeat. The Dutch prepared to storm Thaba Bosigo (an almost inaccessible hill—the Basuto citadel) and destroy the savage danger which British negrophilism had established and which to this day is the most serious menace to South African civilization. The defeated and trembling Negro power, in extremity, appealed to the British, their late foes, for aid against the farmers whom they had attempted to destroy—appealed to white Britain for aid against the white republic and received the aid. At the request of the Negroes, Great Britain took them "under the broad folds of the British flag" and warned the Boers to desist, for the Basuto were now British subjects. This ended the war and preserved the Basuto for a menace to the white occupation of South Africa.

The empire's tyranny over the small republics was justified in its every step by an appeal to negrophilism. The British posed before the world as protectors of the natives. Heartless cruelty to the whites was explained as justifiable in that it promoted the welfare of the blacks. The voortrekkers were not slave owners on the coast and had made a solemn engagement not to establish slavery in the interior. Yet Britain pursued these settlers, bullied them into submission, abandoned them to innumerable blacks, came again and deprived them of their liberty, and again abandoned them. The world was insane with negrophilism, and any tyranny over these small republics was justified by an assertion of interest in the Negroes. This subterfuge was maintained even to the days of Rhodes, when the British, in accord with Rhodes' ideal of painting as much of the map of Africa "British red" as possible and keeping a trade route open to the interior, dispossessed the Transvaal Boers of Stellaland and Goshen and the Free State Boers of the diamond fields.

The discovery of diamonds in the Free State and gold in the Transvaal led to political complications which resulted in the Boer War (1898-1902), in which the Boers, after a heroic struggle, were compelled to submit to British numbers.

How much the British missionary and Colonial Office have changed since the days of negrophilism! South African civilization lives in a new world of thought and hope. Missionaries have ceased teaching equality of races and have turned their efforts toward bettering the natives' morals and developing them as agriculturists and artisans. But what could be more

ironical than the practical results of the teaching of the South African missionaries? The missionary undoubtedly intended to prove himself a benefit to the colony. He did not understand a race question—that it could not be settled as long as the races dwelt together.

Having seen the fallacy of teaching the Negro that he was the equal of the Caucasian, the missionary turned to what he believed to be the real solution of the race problem—he expended his energies in teaching the mixbreed and the Negro to become efficient agriculturists and skilled artisans, with the result that the native, with his low standard of living, is able to compete successfully with the white farmer and skilled laborer and drive these latter lower and lower in the economic scale. Yet it is upon the whites that civilization depends. Missionary teaching will make the native more capable of competing with the whites and forcing these from the country, but it will not and cannot make the Negro less or more than he is racially.

The British Parliament after due deliberation, passed the Act of Union, which constitutes the Union of South Africa a self-governing colony on a par with Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The Act of Union is far removed in spirit from the negrophilism that brought turmoil and disaster in its wake. The new constitution settles the question as to which race is to rule South Africa: it limits seats in the national Parliament to "British subjects of European descent." The only division taken in the British Parliament on the Bill creating the Union of South Africa was on the matter of denying the Negro the privilege of becoming senators for the Cape and Natal provinces. Mr. Barnes, a Labor member of the House of Commons, offered an amendment which would have destroyed the color line in politics. The amendment was defeated by 155 votes to 55.[6]

With the exception of the mongrel province of the Cape of Good Hope (the province belies its name), the government is in the hands of the Caucasian. Here negrophilism had done its work; the future is dark. Cape Colony, the land of the "tar brush"; Cape Town, the "coffee-colored capital," is to be considered in separate class from Natal, the Free State, and the Transvaal. The missionary taught the races that they were of one blood. In Cape Colony it cannot be claimed that the teaching of the missionary has been without practical result. "The

[6] Read the chapter "Union Accomplished" in T. R. Cana's *South Africa from the Great Trek to the Union.*

Gospel according to Exeter Hall" has had its perfect work in and about Cape Town. Surely the mixbreeds of the province of the Cape of Good Hope are ample testimony to the influence of the ignorant, Negro-loving British missionary, whose chief effect upon the colony was to bring it to irretrievable disaster. When we behold the results from miscegenation in Latin America and South Africa, what white American is disturbed by the impotent rantings of a neurotic negrophilist who condemns the American whites for holding aloof from the American Negro?[7] Also, H. G. Wells finds fault with the white Americans for their social exclusion of the American mixbreeds, "who are of their own blood." That such a writer as Wells should at this late date be an apostle of miscegenation is evidence that the Negro problem has ramifications beyond the Negro race.

The Britain that persecuted the emigrant farmers startled the political world with its leniency to them when they finally recognized British authority. Within a short while they were constituted with full citizenship in a government in which their numbers gave to them the possibility of control of the Union. English and Boer will coalesce, and from this standpoint there is every hope for the future. But the Negro problem hangs low over the struggling civilization, and the forces that exist and that are to be intensified, if unchecked, will "Egyptianize" the south of the continent as similar influences in past ages eliminated the cultural factor in the north of the continent.

The whites in South Africa are to all effects an aristocracy. There the economic system has unavoidably allotted to the black and to the white particular and well defined activities. There are more white men than "white men's jobs," and the overflow of the white laboring class is leaving the Union if it has means so to do. Skilled labor, the erstwhile province of the white laboring class, is rapidly being appropriated by the ever increasing mixbreed elements. Negrophilism prevented laws against whites marrying blacks in those portions long under British control, and, through British influence, seriously interfered with the effective operation of such laws in the Transvaal and Free State. Cape Colony has more than half a million of these mixbreeds, and there is no "color line" in this, the home and the result of triumphant negrophilism.

The political parties, seeking party control of the Union government, are in eager scramble to secure the seats in Parliament dominated by the "Cape" half-castes. Even the

[7] See *The Negro in the New World*, by Sir Harry Johnston.

Labor Party, with its vaunted Caucasianism, has yielded to the necessities of practical politics, deserted its Caucasian colors, and seeks the mixbreed vote. At Germiston, in the Transvaal, the writer asked a Labor orator what policy his party proposed with regard to the color problem. Opportunity for questioning had been offered, and the query was proper for the occasion. The Labor orator replied that, in the opinion of the native, the writer was a colored man. The orator was then asked for his opinion as a leader of a party which sought to control the European civilization in South Africa, "who is a colored man —the Caucasian, or the mixbreeds of Cape Colony, who are partly Negro?" The query disturbed him greatly; he refused to give his opinion or to further discuss the matter. The Labor Party wants the colored vote of Cape Colony, the Unionists want the colored vote, the Nationalists were profiting by the colored vote and purposed to keep it. The seats in the Union Parliament dominated by the mixbreeds of the south are sufficient, by their influence alone, to nullify the constitutional ideal which is expressed in the constitutional reservation of parliamentary seats to "British subjects of European descent."

Now that the government is in the keeping of the local whites, we may expect to see decisive efforts to preserve the Caucasian and his institutions. Already the new government has enacted a radical measure to prevent the native from spreading to those districts where there is hope of implanting a population wholly white. Areas of land have been set aside by Parliament to which the native may not go; other areas have been delimited to which the white may not move. This colossal scheme of segregation is not surpassed in extent or intent by any effort on the part of the white man to keep the white race white, save in Australia, where the immigration laws forbid that any colored individual shall come as settler. Australia has dedicated an entire continent to the white race and its institutions forever.

The British Empire, which led the Saxon world in promulgating the theory of equality of races, is now leading the entire world in giving effective sanction to the theory of inequality of races. This, of course, applies to the white British. The British self-governing colonies are making herculean efforts to remedy the disastrous policies of the so-called "philanthropists" of the past century. The British Government, nothwithstanding the overwhelming colored population of the British Empire, has sanctioned every effort on the part of the self-governing units of the empire to preserve the territory of these units for the

white man and his posterity. Historians of the future will recognize the segregation of races within the British Empire to have been the chief factor in perpetuating British civilization in many parts of the world.

Disastrous competition with colored labor leads some South African whites to forsake their native land and seek those countries where the remuneration paid for labor is based upon Caucasian standards of living. The greater number, however, cannot leave, and these are sinking to the Negro level. Government is striving vainly to stay the economic pressure of the black, which is degrading the white. But it is through amalgamation of the white and colored races of South Africa that the civilization is to pass into its decline. We living in America do not realize the terrible inroads that miscegenation is making in other countries. America has had its negrophilism, but it was mild in comparison with that of South Africa. America has had the lust of the sub-normal white to contend with, but this has never been as unbridled or as universal as in other portions of the world where the white race is in contact with the colored. America has been protected by laws against miscegenation and by a fortunate Federal Constitution, which rendered impossible the nullifying of these laws by Congress save through constitutional amendment, which could not have been secured even at the period when the nation gave political equalization to the Negro.

Then let us not too readily point the finger of contempt at mulatto Cape Colony[8] and cry "unclean." The white race there has not willingly suffered its impurity. Hybridization is the legitimate heir of negrophilism, and equalization of races was imposed upon Cape Colony by the mother country. There are many whites in the south of Africa who are descended from the white colonials. This Caucasian strain has remained white for three centuries, but the future is before them. Can they avoid the ever extending miscegenation which encircles them? Without the institution of a rigid color line and its rigid, if need be, its cruel, enforcement, South Africa is doomed. The color line and a bountiful European immigration will preserve

[AUTHOR'S NOTE: January, 1937. I do not believe that the South African, or any other white colonial venture in Negro Africa, will be permanent. The portions of the white race which are in Negro Africa eventually will be amalgamated with the Negro. I believe that the white man should gradually withdraw and leave Negro Africa to its own people.]

8 Province of Cape of Good Hope.

the civilization. Immigration without the color line will lengthen Caucasian supremacy, but will not perpetuate the civilization.[9]

[9] Read *The History of South Africa*, by George M. Theal (4 volumes); *Britain Across the Sea*, by Sir H. H. Johnston; *South Africa from the Great Trek to the Union*, by T. R. Cana; *Impressions of South Africa*, by James Bryce; *The Settlement After the War*, by M. J. Farrelly; *Matabeleland*, by Capt. Charles L. Norris Newman; *What I Think of South Africa*, by Stewart Chamberlain. The historical incidents referred to in this volume may be verified by reference to these writers. British writers themselves are foremost in showing British mistakes in dealing with colored races, and it has seemed preferable to utilize their criticisms rather than rely wholly upon the author's impressions during a prolonged local study of various British colonies.

CHAPTER X

The Civilization That Has Survived Contact with Colored Races: The United States

IT HAS BEEN MADE CLEAR that the intensity of civilization in Latin America is in inverse ratio to the numerical proportion of the Negro in the populations of the various cultural centers. That where the whites are in greater preponderance the culture is more advanced. The Negro's depressing influence upon civilization is observable, not in Latin America alone, but in the portions of the United States where his numbers are great; in South Africa, Southern Europe, or wherever else the Caucasian and the Negro are in contact.

Intensity of civilization in its material phase is almost identical with intensity of industrialism, and the black has not proved himself the industrial equal of the white man. In the North of the United States, the Negro's cultural inferiority has resulted in his practical elimination from the industries, and apparently he is to suffer the same fate in the South. The Negro is generally absent from the Southern textile factories. The whites of the South produce a good deal more than half of the cotton. As the whites increase, the Negro in the South will suffer gradual elimination from the industries and possibly even from agriculture.

The Negro in the United States, or elsewhere, cannot compete with white labor if Caucasian standards of remuneration are maintained. The Negro may eliminate the white from a field of labor, but invariably such results are obtained by substituting Negro standards of life.

Because of war-time cessation of immigration and the consequent scarcity of labor, there was a demand for Negro labor even at white standards of pay. To protect himself, the white laborer attempted to unionize the Negro. But when the labor market is congested and there is not work for all, it is inconceivable that the white man, who has excluded the Asiatic and who vigorously opposes the incoming of the lower types of Europeans, will allow high remuneration to millions of Negroes whereby they may sustain themselves and increase their numbers and by so doing prevent just so many whites from secur-

ing employment, thereby limiting the increase of white Americans.

Let us take time to survey the history of the Negro in American civilization in order that we may better understand his present position.

A Dutch vessel brought twenty African Negroes to Jamestown, Virginia, and sold them to the settlers there in the year 1619. This was the beginning of the slave trade and of slavery in British North America. As the development of the colonies in the New World proceeded, it became a universal custom to secure African Negroes from the slave traders and employ them as slaves in doing menial service. The slave traffic became immensely profitable, and most of the civilized nations took part in it. Wars were fought in Europe, and the choicest fruit of victory was the privilege of monopolizing the slave traffic from the coasts of Africa to the Americas.

Queen Elizabeth avowed that the wrath of an offended God would descend upon the head of the doughty John Hawkins who, in spite of the Spanish monopoly, succeeded in eluding the Spaniards and bringing Negroes to the New World.[1] But when the queen discovered that the said John was successfully defying the Spanish and making enormous profit from the slave traffic, she reversed her attitude and became partner with that slaver, knighting him and furnishing him her ship, "The Jesus," with which to augment his fleet. At a later date, she licensed Dudley, Earl of Leicester (for twenty-five years a favorite of the queen), and others to transport slaves to America. Certain English writers have affected to believe that "Good Queen Bess" was not informed of Sir John Hawkins' true activities, but the fact that the charter under which Lord Dudley was to operate expressly stipulated that slaves might be carried to America seems to leave another item for them to consider in their effort to exempt Queen Elizabeth from knowledge of and profit through the slave traffic.

The truth is that the white world believed it was doing the Negro a great service by bringing him from savage Africa. The Negro's chief cultural advancements have been wrought through his contact with the Caucasian. There is agreement on this point among Negroes as well as among whites. New England had early developed the shipping industry, and numerous vessels of the New Englander soon entered competition with European nations in bringing slaves from Africa to the Western colonies. It was not uncommon for the stern Puritan to

1 John R. Spears, *The American Slave Trade*, p. 15.

meet the incoming slavers and pray, thanking God for sending the heathen to a land of Christianity.

Before the American Revolution, certain of the colonies had besought their king to stay the slave traffic. There were men even at that early date who had begun to appreciate what the presence of the Negro in the colonies would eventually mean. But the English monarch denied the petition, for the reason that vast British investments were in the trans-Atlantic trade, of which the slave was the most profitable cargo. We saw in the previous chapter that the British did not abolish the slave traffic until the year prior to the closing of the American market (1808). The date of the closing of the United States to the slaver had been known for some twenty years.[2]

At the time of the Revolution there were less than a million Negroes in the Thirteen Colonies, and slavery was rapidly dying out in the New England colonies. The New Englander was possessed of that highest human endowment, creative genius, and this led to an industrialism which was to be the material making of America. With the development of shipping and factories the Negro became not only useless, but a burden.

Since the abolition of the slave traffic in 1808, the American Negro has increased from one to eleven millions. If his increase remains normal we may best illustrate the gravity of the Negro problem by pointing to the fact that there are individuals now living who will witness the presence of thirty million Negroes in the United States. It is quite possible that the great-grandchildren of some now living will witness the presence of more than a hundred million negroids in the New World.

The Negro has not increased in freedom as he did in slavery, for the reason that the master enforced sanitation and regularity. In slavery, his increase was greater than the Southern whites; since the Civil War, the Southern whites have increased faster than the Negro. But the increase of the Southern white has been great indeed, possibly as great as the percentage of increase of North and West, though the South has received but a small proportion of the immigrants to the United States.

It is a mistake to assert that the Negro will die out in America as a result of influences which may now be detected. If the decline in the rate of increase of the Negro implies ultimate extinction of that race, we may presume that the white man will become extinct, for the same principles underlie the de-

2 See Constitution of the United States, Art. 1, Sec. 9.

crease of both races. In those communities in which the Negro dwells with the Caucasian, the latter must remedy the Negro's high death rate or else the diseases of the Negro will be communicated to the whites, and the whites themselves be endangered by their neglect of the Negro.

The Negro is not a dying race. He is bounteously fecund in a normal environment. If he is to die out in America, it may be only as a result of hopeless competition with the white race, in an environment of the white man's making. The Negro is adaptable, and under a favorable environment he will have the advantage in competition with a higher race; but it is conceivable that the white man's diseases, communicated to the Negro, together with a possible adverse economic situation, may retard the increase of the Negro, may even exterminate him. We do not believe the white man will consciously destroy a people whom he brought by force in his midst, even though this be possible. Sanitation and economic opportunity will insure a normal increase among the Negroes, and elemental justice requires that the white man afford the Negro these advantages as long as he retains the Negro in his midst.

The most sanguine temperament cannot look upon the results of Caucasian contact with colored races in the past and feel secure as to America's future. Civilization has never survived intimate and prolonged contact with the colored races, and, though the United States will outrank all other civilizations in the successful preservation of the physical type from which civilization proceeds, there are present in America implications as to the eventual disintegration of this cultural stock. The American problem is not beyond the possibility of permanent solution, but such successful solution will probably depend upon the attitude of the present and the succeeding generation of whites. America may successfully cope with her color problem when her colored population becomes twice its present numerical strength, or three times its present strength, but as the colored increase in number there is less likelihood of America's attempting a radical and permanent solution.

The nation should realize this and should be led to understand that the permanency of the Caucasian race and its institutions depends upon measures taken in the next few decades. Our danger possesses that seductive quality which renders it invisible to the many and but dimly appreciated by the few. Were there immediate peril to the flag, America would be in arms, ready for any sacrifice of blood and treasure. But the danger is not from the threat of military conquest, which

would arouse all, but from the slow and ill-appreciated disintegration, or replacement, of the physical type which has made America great. We need those who can read and understand history and who can visualize the future in America. Those who believe in and will spread the cult of Caucasianism. Those who have become conscious that our civilization will decline as the numerical proportion of the pure Caucasian is reduced. Those who will sink sectionalism in national patriotism. Those who forget past differences between North and South in a common purpose to preserve a common civilization.

Let us take stock of the Caucasian assets in the impending struggle for Caucasian permanency. Look to Latin America and to South Africa and behold the inroads of miscegenation which threaten the permanency of these civilizations. Are we not conscious that the "color line" in the United States has preserved us, while other white nations in contact with the black and red races are immediately imperiled as a result of blood admixture with these races? Whites of these countries have freely interbred with colored peoples. An incalculable debt we owe to our ancestors who preserved our race and culture in the United States. Most of the Europeans who settled in Latin America betrayed race and culture; our ancestors preserved us white through three hundred years of race contact. Latin Americans bartered Caucasian birthright for temporary gain. North Americans, surrounded by similar environment of equal intensity, maintained race and institutions. Shall we not resolve to bequeath to our posterity the race type and culture received from our fathers—the one unshorn of its potentiality, the other undiminished in its splendor? We have survived for three centuries, but thirty centuries are before us, and the future will try us as the past has not.

The chief Caucasian asset in the struggle for permanency of civilization, then, is race. There has been less miscegenation in the United States than elsewhere in the world. Race we owe entirely to those who have lived before us. Had they possessed less intelligence and feebler morals, we, at the present time, would be a mixbreed people.

The second asset is the still prevailing color line, which is a national ideal. Subsequent events have proved that the color line was in the hearts of Americans even when the abolition of slavery appeared to carry with it the abolition of the color-line. The North, having less knowledge of the physical and mental characteristics of the Negro, and subject for the time to an idealism which was swaying that portion of the white

world which dwelt apart from the Negro and which was intensified by sympathy for an enslaved race, did preach "equality," but this equality did not extend to miscegenation.

Not only has there been a social color-line throughout American history, but it appears that a political color-line has persisted as well. The satisfaction with which the white North views the white South's elimination of the Negro from politics can be understood when one grasps the fact that not the people of the North, but a few powerful politicians, forced Negro control upon the South. "The opposition to universal Negro suffrage was so great throughout the North during the agitation of the question, which was subsequently embodied in the Fifteenth Amendment, that, excluding the enforced acquiescence of the Southern States, it was, when submitted to the people, defeated in every state except Iowa and Minnesota," writes Thomas Nelson Page, in *The Negro: The Southerner's Problem.*

Mr. Page, continuing, says (basing his data upon *The Fifteenth Amendment; An Account of its Enactment,* by A. Caperton Braxton), "In December, 1865, when the question of the establishment of Negro suffrage in the District of Columbia was submitted to the voters there, the vote stood, in Georgetown, 1 vote for and 812 votes against the measure, and in Washington, 35 votes for and 6,521 votes against the measure.

"In September, 1865, the question was submitted to the voters of the Territory of Colorado. The vote stood 476 for and 4,192 against it.

"In June, 1866, the people of Nebraska adopted a constitution which limited suffrage to the whites. In October, 1867, the proposition for Negro suffrage in Ohio was voted down by over 50,000 majority.

"In 1868, in Missouri, the measure was voted down by 18,000 majority.

"In Michigan, in 1868, when the Republican Party carried by nearly 32,000 majority, the question of Negro suffrage was voted down by nearly 39,000 majority.

"In 1869, the people of New York defeated the proposed measure by over 32,000 majority, and the Legislature of that State rescinded a former act of a previous Legislature, which had, by a majority of two, ratified the Fifteenth Amendment.

"On the 4th of March, 1869, in Indiana, seventeen Senators and thirty-six Representatives resigned from the Legislature to break a quorum and prevent the ratification of the amend-

ment. Every one of these, with a single exception, was subsequently reelected by the people.

"Meantime, under the 'Reconstruction Acts,' the amendment was forced on the South. Seven of the Southern States ratified it by the Negro vote, the whites being generally disfranchised, while in three of them—Virginia, Mississippi and Texas—ratification was assented to as a condition of readmission to the Union."

There were but few Negroes in Minnesota (246 adults, according to the Census of 1870), while the State of Iowa had 1,542 Negroes as compared to 289,162 whites. Yet in these states Negro suffrage was carried by narrow margins. Certain it is that the whites of the United States have never favored giving the Negro joint control in the civilization which proceeds from the Caucasian.

There were some whites in the North who advocated miscegenation, as there were some whites in the South who practiced it. After three centuries of contact, one-third, or less, of the Negro population is mixed with the blood of the whites. If we compare the United States with other white nations which have been in contact with colored races, we shall be greatly encouraged. But few of the present number of mixbreeds are the product of a first crossing with the white race of the South. The mulatto, the quadroon, the octoroon, and the still lighter colored, have injected into the Negro race an overwhelming proportion of the Caucasian blood which this race manifests.

The situation is not hopeless at present. But will not history repeat itself in the United States? We know the long continued dwelling together of blacks and whites during the past sixty centuries has had but one ending—amalgamation. Changing social conditions, civil wars, invading armies without a sense of the color line, the lust of the white man, the mixbreeds' clamor for equality—such influences, throughout the centuries, have nullified every attempt of the white race to remain white when dwelling with the colored.

The color line as applied in the United States accredits to the white race only those who are purely white, while to the black race is given those who are partly white. In this respect the color line, as interpreted by the United States, stands separate and distinct from the "color line" as interpreted by other white people. The nearest approach to identical interpretation is found in the former German colonies, but there the halfbreeds are few, and it remains for these possessions to be

tested by centuries.

Australia and New Zealand, while forbidding the incoming of colored races, do not apply a strict color line to those now there.

While the color line as a national ideal in the United States has never been transgressed, it has been departed from by a few white individuals in each community and over so long a period of time that the cumulative effects of its transgression is destined to eventually weaken its application throughout the nation. First crosses and unions of the partly white with the full black and with the full white have resulted in the production of approximately three million mixbreeds, ranging through all shades of complexion from the near white to the near black. This mixbreed population is a result of a total of three centuries of race contact. Numerically it furnishes indisputable evidence that the color line has been, from the first, a national ideal. The average white has not contributed to the mixing of the races, but has held sternly aloof, though miscegenation has ever appealed to the fundamental instincts and could have been a nation-wide phenomenon at a word from the white man.

When contemplating the American mulatto, the white American may well realize that his future is imperiled by the mixbreed; but at the same time he should take what consolation he may from the knowledge that during the period of time that the mulatto has been produced, certain other white communities have been almost obliterated by miscegenation. Race, the color line, and knowledge of the results to the white man of his centuries of dealing with the colored, may be said to be the chief assets of the white in the effort to secure a white America.

What then are some of the disadvantages confronting Caucasian civilization in the United States?

The chief disadvantage lies in the failure of the all-powerful whites to visualize the future. The greater number of Americans do not live near enough to the Negro to understand the limitations of the Negro and to realize that he has not had, and cannot have, a part in progressive civilization. The Negro himself does profit from his enforced dwelling with the Caucasian, but such profit is at the expense of the Caucasian. The future holds before us an America filled to overflowing with a population which is to be pressed for room and food. There will be a white man for every job in America. When that time comes, and it will not be far distant, the Negro millions

will eliminate just so many white millions. But the depressing influence of the Negro upon future America will be dealt with in another chapter.

We have seen that the American, by reason of race ideal and law, has mixed but little with the alien race within his midst. This mixture almost in its entirety has been illegal. The mulatto element results from unlawful unions between whites and blacks. The mulatto, in turn, willingly submits to the subnormal white, and the result is a quadroon. The quadroon seeks a white mate, and the result is an octoroon, one-eighth Negro. Here is the danger! The octoroons and the yet whiter negroids are bucking the color line. They constitute the distinguished "Negroes" of America that fanatical and untruthful whites exhibit as specimens of Negro stock and culture. The law of heredity will constitute some of these mixbreeds, Caucasian-like in appearance and in race instinct. These will tower over the Negro and will approach the white in mentality and in culture. It is this mixbreed element in the United States, supplemented by negroes from South Europe, Latin America, and the British West Indies, coming to our shores in ever-increasing numbers, who constitute the immediate peril to the white race and the institutions of civilization. The near-whites are bucking the color-line and making good in every state in the American Union. The North, the South, the East and the West are suffering these aggressive negroids to enter white society and to inject the blood of Africa into Caucasian circles. The vaunted race pride of the Southerner has more than once succumbed to the mulattress, while beyond the South the mulatto's program is still more easly realized. The near-white is a cancer that will eat deeper and deeper into the heart of the white race. Following upon the triumph of the near-white, the near-Negro will enter, finding a people who having received the near-white in marital equality to be less severe in repulsing the near-Negro.

While the purity of the white race has been the national ideal throughout American history, it is not the nation as a whole, but that part of the nation in immediate contact with the Negro that has been submitted to a rigid test of this ideal. The South emerges from three hundred years of immediate contact with the Negro and is white. This is the greatest miracle in the record of the contact of races. Faithful to race and institutions, the South now presents twenty-five million Saxon sons and daughters for the nation's use in peace or war.

The abuse meted to the Southerners in the days of the great

illusion of the equality of races by England writers, and by not a few of the North, leaves no rancor in Southern memory when the South calls attention to her white sons and daughters. The doctrine of equality of races angered and hurt the Southerners, as it did the British and Dutch colonials, but the consciousness that they were preserving race and culture steeled them during the period of acrimony and defeat.

Europeans, instead of finding a mulatto South, as they find a mixbreed Latin America, are struck with the contrast. Henderson is never better satisfied than when praising the physical type of the Southerners and their Saxon ideals. He calls them "Anglo-Saxons of the purest strain."[3] Keane, the ethnologist, speaks of their "magnificent physique."[4] Even Johnston, the negrophilist, does them the honor of saying there is in the Southerner "no evidence of race decay."[5] Von Bernhardi expresses high appreciation of the South and its heroic struggle in the Civil War.[6] Schultz (American writer) says the Civil War was not over in three months because "the Southerners were pure Saxons."[7] James Bryce and other Englishmen write of the Saxon's sense of race superiority and of his maintenance of the color-line. In every instance of which the writer is aware, the English or American historians who seek to show the Saxon's sense of race superiority when dwelling with a colored race draw their illustrations from the history of the South.

The immensely rich East and West, with their highly developed industrial civilization, due in great extent to the use of European capital, receiving millions of immigrants, possessing the wealth of the nation and holding the reins of government, have been hardly conscious prior to the past decade of the latent possibilities of the Southern States. By reason of a sparse white population and an always high percentage of Negroes and by defeat in the Civil War, which defeat carried with it the Reconstruction, the Southern States, though immensely rich in natural resources and blessed by a splendid climate, have lagged behind the rest of the nation in wealth and many other expressions of civilization. In 1860, the Southern whites, by

[3] See Lieut. Col. (British Army), C. F. R. Henderson's *Life of Stonewall Jackson*, v. 1, p. 93.

[4] A. H. Keane, *Ethnology*, p. 373.

[5] He refers to the Southern inhabitants of the Mississippi Valley. See Sir H. H. Johnston, *The Negro in the New World*, p. 435.

[6] See *Germany and the Next War*, by F. Von Bernhardi.

[7] *Race or Mongrel*, by Alfred F. Schultz.

reason of their vast landed possessions, were worth more per capita than the whites of the North. The Civil War reduced them below the North in per capita wealth, the Reconstruction brought them to the border of bankruptcy. Staggering to their feet under these burdens, they had hardly reached solvency when the nation-wide panic of the early nineties swept away the material progress of a generation. Recovering gradually, the South by 1900 had entered its present era of prosperity.

When it was ascertained that the South had recovered from the Reconstruction and was a safe place for investments, the wealth of the North began to pour into its treasuries and, that which is far more important than wealth, Northerners themselves came to the South, and the land profited greatly by their superior knowledge in the industries and agriculture. No Northern man has endeared himself to the people of the South in such degree as the late Dr. Seaman A. Knapp. In the proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention of the Southern Commercial Congress, Nashville, Tennessee, 1912, a session was arranged as a memorial to this distinguished benefactor of the South. As organizer and director of the farmer's co-operative demonstration work, Dr. Knapp contributed more to the present prosperity of the South than has any other individual. How the Southerner will welcome the coming of the Northerner who demonstrates that he is interested in the Caucasian culture of the South was clearly set forth in the addresses of representative Southerners who were in agreement that Dr. Knapp was the most capable friend that the Southern farmer has ever had.

If we consider the extraordinary hatred shown by the Southerner to those from the North who came to the South some fifty years ago and taught the theory of equality of Negro and Caucasian, and compare that attitude with the praise given by representative Southerners to "The Schoolmaster of Agriculture," we cannot but draw the conclusion that the so-called sectionalism of the Southerner is circumscribed by the Caucasianism of the Southerner. The address of the Arkansas representative affirmed that the State of Arkansas owes a debt of $200,000,000 to Dr. Knapp, while an even more significant understanding of the character of this great man is found in the address of the Georgia delegate who said, "Seaman A. Knapp came as a stranger into our Southland, but when his great soul passed over the river into the shadows beyond, he left behind him the loving memories and grateful hearts of the entire people of Dixie."

The South is credited with high ingenuity in war and in politics, but such ingenuity will not of itself entitle Southerners to rank with other Saxons. The thing that strikes the European and Northern visitor most when they journey through the ex-slave states is the comparative lack of industries. Matters have changed somewhat of late years, and the South is taking on new life, but it would be futile to prophesy that the Southern States will be able, under present circumstances, to overtake the North and West. This cannot be, for the millions of Africans in the Southern States will render it impossible.

The difficulty of the South is not that it is deficient in industrial capacity, but that Southern conditions make difficult an industrial display. Suppose that the Southern proportions of blacks and whites should exist in the North! Diminish the creative element there by more than thirty per cent and substitute in its stead a people not only non-creative, but incapable of seconding the progress of the creative element. Is it conceivable that the intensity of Northern civilization could be maintained? The history of the contact of races shows that it could not.

If we keep in mind the relative sparsity of population, the chaos growing out of the Civil War and the Reconstruction, together with the world-wide experience that the intensity of civilization is in inverse ratio to the numerical proportion of Negroes in the population, we shall have a true explanation of the backwardness of the Southern States.

The South will never be able to cope with the white North. The South is doomed to material and spiritual inferiority. This is a depressing conclusion, but no other is possible. What has it availed the South to show industrial capacity? Creative ingenuity and initiative the Southerner has in common with other Teutonic peoples. The Southerner built the first railroad in America, the first street car line, the first and second steamboats, the first ironclad, the first submarine; invented the first reaper; was first to apply electricity to street car locomotion; was first to municipally build and operate a street car service; inaugurated municipal government by commission, an innovation that is spreading beyond the borders of America; gave to America and to the world the public free school which has become the glory of modern civilization; lastly, but, in the opinion of some, not the least, constructed the first golf links in the Western World. The South could create, but the South could not develop its own creations as the white North has

done. Teutonic genius is in the race, but the race has been imperiled by the jungle.

It is necessary to remind the people of the great white North that the portion of their race, which is by virtue of circumstance custodian of civilization in the Southern States, has demonstrated that it possesses cultural capacities like unto themselves, but that "Experience in all parts of the world shows that the presence of an inferior race in large numbers tends constantly to lower the standards of the dominant race," and, "If he (the American Negro) could be eliminated from the Southern States, their future would be much brighter than it is now."[8]

The South has been submitted to the acid test of the white ideal. The South has preserved the color-line and the color-line has maintained a white South. The color-line has preserved the white race, but the color-line will not make the South a great industrial civilization. Civilization proceeds from and is dependent upon the white man, and the white American surely must have an intense interest in remedying matters in the South. The Negro is not, save in a restricted sense, the Southerner's problem. He is a national problem.

In a speech delivered in the Senate August 7, 1916, Senator James K. Vardaman of Mississippi, speaking of the Negro problem, said: "We realize that nothing definite looking to the solution of the race problem can be expected without National aid. . . . It is a problem which the Nation made, and the Nation alone can solve it." This is true. It is the greatest problem of our civilization, and constitutes the "only problem beyond which we cannot see." (Grover Cleveland.)

When tyranny, backed by immense power, attempted to intimidate the Northern colonies, the South, though not immediately concerned in the struggle, cried, "Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle?" (Henry.) We know the result. The South made common cause with their endangered "brethren" and the American nation sprang into existence. Race and culture are imperiled in the South as they never were in the North. There are millions of Southerners who wait for the powerful white North to say, "Our brethren are in the field! Why stand we here idle?"

8 Address of Ellsworth Huntington, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Geography, Yale, given at Clark University, 1913. See *Latin America*, published by Clark University, p. 368.

For more than two years the writer was employed as an underground workman in the diamond and gold mines in South Africa. His lengthy experience with the white workingmen of South Africa enabled him to enter into the spirit of their problems. The problems arising from the white man's contact with the Negro are similar throughout the world. The differences are those of degree, not kind. The white laboring class of South Africa is extremely hard pressed by reason of disastrous competition with the low standards of the colored, who outnumber the whites five to one. If the writer has been seemingly severe in criticism of the institutions of South Africa, it is because his living there identified him with the present status and the needs of the white laboring class upon which the civilization depends. The white workingmen will have to arouse themselves if civilization is to continue in South Africa. They need to realize that their present danger is a man-made danger and can be remedied by human agency.

CHAPTER XI

Problems of Civilization in Contact with Colored Races: Economic Problems

THE CONDITION OF WHITE LABOR in South Africa is well set forth by the Transvaal Indigency Commission: "We have taken evidence on the question of the effect of the presence of the native (Negro) on the habits and institutions of the white population from all parts of South Africa. It is a subject which it is impossible to neglect. It enters into every aspect of the social, political and economic life of the country, and no problem such as that with which we are dealing (the problem of destitution among whites of South Africa) can be properly understood until the bearing of the native question upon it is taken into account. We have found that in all parts of South Africa it exercises a dominant influence on the life and habits of the white population . . . colored labor, inefficient though it is, is cheaper to the employer for unskilled work than white labor. . . . When the white man does, therefore, get unskilled labor to do, he is paid a wage based on Kaffir standards of work, which is barely sufficient to keep body and soul together. The native can . . . subsist on a far lower wage than the white man, . . . the wages of the white man cannot permanently fall below the average amount it costs to maintain himself and his family at a minimum level of subsistence required of a member of civilized society. The native, on the other hand, need not earn sufficient wages with which to pay for even these modest requirements, because he has a subsidiary source of livelihood in the produce of his tribal lands and the labor of his women and children."[1] (The male native practices plural marriage in South Africa. His wives and children support him, enabling him to work for a remuneration impossible to the white man.)

As a result of widespread miscegenation, there are now almost half as many mixbreeds as whites in the Union of South Africa. South Africa has difficulty enough in dealing with the

1 Extracts from Part II of the Transvaal Indigency Commission's Report, 1912.

full black, but the mongrel constitutes a problem seemingly beyond the powers of the civilization. The *native problem is* talked of by all. In pulpit, press and private intercourse it is the foremost question, but miscegenation has qualified the purity of so many South African families that there is a general disinclination to treat the *near-white problem* with frankness. The pure whites do not relish the incoming of mulattoes, but they have no social or political machinery by which they may effectively exclude them. So the mixbreeds enter white circles—enter to stay.

The mixbreeds, by unions with the whites, are eliminating the pure Caucasian element upon which civilization depends. The Negroes are so numerous, constituting four-fifths of the population, that their numbers appall the whites. But the Negro as Negro is not the immediate peril. It is not the "assagai," but the "tar brush," that imperils the civilization.[2] If South Africa remains white, the civilization implanted by three hundred years of arduous toil will endure, the reins of government will be retained by Caucasian hands, even though the Negro increase a hundred fold. It is not black warriors, but colored brothers-in-law who will eventually submerge the Caucasian culture. Sixty centuries of racial interminglings have given evidence that the white man rules in his racial purity and that chaos reigns when he becomes a hybrid.

If the white man is "unjust" to the black, he may become just. If he has not used his personal influence for the good of the Negro, he may yet do so. If the white man does not effect the segregation of the Negro in this generation, he will have opportunity in the next, but the white man become hybrid will not have opportunity of regaining racial status. All other requirements are incidental or temporary—race purity is fundamental.

In South Africa, the mulatto question is a part, and that the most dangerous part, of the "native question," though South Africa, for reasons mentioned, does not treat it as such. The Negro has driven the white from the field of unskilled labor, the half-caste is driving the white from the skilled trades. The Negro has pauperized the "poor whites"; the mulatto and the coolie are pauperizing the middle-class whites, making the country possible for land baron and mine magnate only. The economic problem, including that felt by the smaller mer-

2 The "assagai" is the spear used by the African negro. "Tar brush"—a popular term used to indicate the strain of black blood that qualifies the race purity of many so-called Caucasians.

chants, is further complicated by the presence of more than a hundred thousand Indians from Asia, who were encouraged to come to the country by the propertied class of colonials. Their standards of living are far beneath those of the Caucasian, and they furnish a very difficult problem, for they are more capable than the negroids and they constantly threaten to involve the British Empire in discord by demanding equalization with the whites.

South Africa is the wealthiest country in the world in proportion to white population, and three-fourths of the white population are the poorest in the world in proportion to the national wealth. But the Negro problem there differs only in degree from the Negro problem in the Southern States, and what the Negro problem is in South Africa today it will be in certain of the Southern States tomorrow. The white man is hardest pressed in South Africa, and it is here that the difficuties confronting the white race in contact with the Negro can best be seen; however, the tendency of the Negro to concentrate in "the black belt" of the United States, if it continues, will render the position of white labor as difficult in this portion of the nation as white labor in South Africa.

Contract labor, which is in effect a modified form of slavery, prevails in South Africa and in certain other British colonies, and this institution, like slavery, has its tap root in economy. Negroes are taxed to make them work. Pressed from his home to the white man's labor market in order to secure money with which to pay the tax judiciously imposed for this purpose, the Negro comes under the terms of the contract labor regulations, the penalties of which, like those of slavery, are administered by criminal not civil jurisprudence. The scheme is devised by the land and mine owners to insure a supply of cheap colored labor. The influence of these two cliques is all powerful in political circles, and hence the unlikeliness of a change such as will benefit the white laboring class.

Contract labor, without which the Negro workman would be uncontrollable and hence unprofitable, is the corner-stone of South African capitalism, and capitalism, as the expression of the prevailing economic theory, may be examined as an anti-racial element tending to eliminate the white race and its institutions. *There is no purpose to question the economics of capitalism save as their application threatens the permanency of the white race when in contact with the colored.* It will be seen in the succeeding chapter that the socialism of Germany is as reprehensible as the capitalism of the British colonies and

the United States in effecting a reduction of the Caucasian to the economic status of the Negro.

A white civilization cannot be maintained without a white population, a white population cannot permanently exist without a white laboring class, and a white laboring class cannot continue under conditions which prevent white men from maintaining themselves and families. The white race, imperiled on the one side by amalgamation with the colored, is threatened on the other side by the economic greed of the white man. Both the genetic and the economic perils are of such grave proportions that they must be remedied radically if the white race is to survive in South Africa. The greatest difficulty in the way of such radical remedy is that the white laboring classes, though greatly outnumbering the international capitalistic element which dominates them, are but dimly aware that the dangers that threaten are man-made dangers and can be removed by human agency. Negrophilism and ruthless capitalism have reduced the civilization to feebleness, and the white laboring classes, the hope of every civilization, have somehow accepted their present state as God-ordained and immutable. It will be necessary for them to analyze social control and understand why politics, religion and capitalism seek to maintain the present social equilibrium.[3]

Hitherto white labor has been allowed that which is popularly known as "white men's jobs," but the present epoch marks the emergence of the mixbreed and Kaffir into this realm. Not only is the white failing to extend his field of labor, but he is actually being routed from his erstwhile position of skilled artisan and boss over native laborers. In the commercial realm, the Indian, imported from India at the behest of capitalism, is ousting the white man from the retail trade and from clerical positions.

It does not require a close analysis to determine the reason of the rise of the colored, the economy of the phenomenon being evident. It is not because the colored do the work as well or better than the white, but because they are cheaper than the white. Men may learn the use of tools by virtue of being human merely, and are not conditioned to an extraction from any specific sub-species of humanity. The Negro may learn to wield the axe, adz, saw, chisel, trowel, plane and rule with sufficient dexterity to perform the greater amount of service required of these implements. He does not have to rise

3 Read *Social Control,* by Edward Alsworth Ross, of the University of Wisconsin.

to technical equalization with the white in order to dominate the labor market. His victory is not traced to superiority in design or energy in execution, for his unwarranted ascendency over the white is solely by reason of his hatless head and bootless foot; his loin cloth and his "mealy pap."[4] He dominates South Africa by reason of the same low economic standards that cause the Asiatic to imperil the Western Coast.

The tools of the white man are not only an aid to civilization but are an expression of the ingenuity inhering within the creators of civilization. Steel, steam and electricity are not to be compared to that exalted spiritual salvation that comes to the colored as to white "without money and without price." Inventions are the product of race, not the gift of God. *White labor, then, shall assert prior right to the products of white ingenuity*. The implements of industrial activity are the just heritage of the white laborer, and white labor should see that they are not used by the selfish few of his race to eliminate the white man and his civilization.

The Negro invents nothing, neither does he perfect a crude invention; yet, under the present scheme of things, the white man must surrender his inventions into the Negro's hands, and the white man himself become a pauper and an outcast. Greedy capitalism takes the products of the white man's brain, places them at the disposal of its black servants, sees the white inventor reduced to the economic level of the black non-inventor, and goes forth to justify its right to rule as proceeding from the capitalist's superior ability. Capitalism holds that the glaring inequality between the multimillionaire and pauper white results from the millionaire's superiority. It intrenches itself behind the sacred bulwark of individual ability.

The time is at hand when the white laborer in contact with colored races will intrench behind the bulwark of race ability and claim for himself, as against the colored, the prior right to survive. Such will not be a war of conquest. It will not be a war of injustice. Giving to the Negro the privilege of living by the use of the white man's inventions, while the white man is eliminated from the population, is an injustice which even the negrophilist will hardly condone, though it is put into practical application by the less emotional capitalist. South Africa is not the black man's home. He came as much an in-

4 The African negro, unless he has attempted to assimilate Caucasian ideals, wears neither hat nor shoes, his sole apparel being a loin cloth that may be purchased for a small sum. Corn (Indian maize), introduced into South Africa by the Dutch and Portuguese, has become the chief food of the native. "Mealy pap" is a mush made of corn meal.

vader of the Hottentot's land as did the European. The black man succumbed to the European by might of arms and, in turn, is subduing the European by the arts of peace which have proceeded from and are dependent upon the European.

At first, the wealthy whites sought to utilize the cheap black as unskilled laborers merely; but now, triumphant, they seek the white man only to train the colored for the skilled trades. Having trained the understudy, the white man is dismissed and the understudy employed. There is a tendency to keep just enough white men to control the industries and prevent the destruction of costly machinery.

Capitalism must be racialized! It must not be allowed to employ Negro labor to the exclusion of needy white workmen. Such a necessity is as obvious in the United States as in South Africa. Thousands of employers in America have utilized colored labor to the exclusion of white, because the colored man works for less pay than the white. In the Southern States, the mulatto invaded certain of the skilled trades, and within a generation drove the white man from the field, working for less than half the remuneration paid to white men, even when the South was suffering from economic depression. Northern labor excluded the Negro from labor unions, making the Negro's living there uncertain and difficult. This exclusion was for the purpose of preserving the North as a field for white labor. The preventing of the ingress of the Negro into the North and West left those sections free for the development of the white race.

Before the World War we were receiving immigrants at an average of almost a million a year. The sudden cessation of immigration, together with the great demands made upon America to supply commodities to the warring nations, created a scarcity of labor. The United States entered the world struggle, thereby drawing some five million of men from industries. The position of the Negro immediately changed. Even in the North, heretofore closed to him, he became in great demand. Many thousands of blacks from the South answered the call for labor in the North, going there to make their homes.

The presences of these Negroes in the Northern cities created difficult economic and social problems, soon evidenced by racial rioting, and later by economic opposition on the part of the Northern white laborer. Union labor was compelled to take notice of the tens of thousands of newly arrived Negroes. Unable to prevent the incoming of the Negro, the white

workman, to protect himself in his difficult economic position, sought to unionize the Negro.

But the white laborer will soon understand that not the Negro's standard of remuneration, but the Negro's physical presence, is the source of the Negro problem. The physical presence of the Negro limits the growth of the whites. A million Negro labor-unionists will mean a million jobs denied to white men, a million white homes lost to the North.

Organized labor is confronted by alternatives, neither of which is satisfactory. It may leave the Negro unorganized and permit his competition to lower the union scale, or it may unionize the Negro to avoid competing with the Negro standards of remuneration.

If the Negro is not unionized he will lower the white man's standard of living. If he is unionized, in possession of the white race's standard of remuneration and the Negro's standard of living, he will have equal, if not better, opportunity than the white man to establish his race in America. But civilization proceeds from the white race, not the black.

If the white man pursues a policy which establishes and perpetuates colored races upon this continent, it is merely a question of time when his civilization will suffer irreparable loss, for the presence of the colored will limit the increase of the white. Progress in civilization will be conditioned upon the limits placed upon the increase of the white population.

The Caucasian in America has won a continent from the red race and lost a fourth of it to the black. The question before the white man is whether this loss is to be final. Is the white man, who has conquered a continent from the red man and excluded the yellow man, to share the continent with the black man? The white man, whether or not he wishes, must recognize racial problems as well as economic problems, for when races are in contact the two problems are inseparable.

The economic problem is to prevent the black man's standards from replacing those of the white. The racial problem is to prevent the black man from replacing the white. To prevent the black man from lowering the economic standards of the white, the latter may provide a uniform scale of wages for both races. But by providing equal wages for both races the lower race will have in reality a better chance to sustain itself and increase its kind. The higher race, by saving itself economically, will endanger itself racially. In order to save itself racially it must have economic advantage. The loss to one race will carry with it a corresponding success to the other. It is just as

true that the success of the one will entail a relative loss to the other. These are results of racial competition from which there can be no escape.

The economic equalization of black and white will be an artificial equalization (for civilization proceeds from the white man), and its institution on the part of organized labor should be considered as a temporary expedient. This artificial equalization of black and white will in some measure answer its purpose—the avoidance of competition with cheap colored labor, but at the same time it will give advantage to the colored, providing that race with the opportunity to increase at the expense of the white.

Race conflict is regrettable and disagreeable, but when races dwell together it cannot be avoided. When races are in contact and civilization arises from and is sustained by one and not another, a policy on the part of the higher race, which in order to save itself economically endangers itself racially, is not satisfactory. Such policy implies that economics is superior to race. But the white man who organizes the Negro to save himself economically, at the same time excludes the yellow man, whether the latter be organized or not. By so doing, the white man recognizes that race, not economics, is the superior value. Is it not true that, if the black man were not in America, organized labor would oppose his coming to America, though each African immigrant brought with him his union card?

A policy, temporarily satisfactory for the white man of the South, is to take the more desirable occupations which his numbers enable him to dominate, exclude the colored, and secure satisfactory remuneration. As the whites of the South increase by natural growth in numbers and receive additional whites from without, they should extend their fields of labor gradually until they dominate the desirable occupations. This process was in actual operation in the South when the influx of Negroes into the North caused organized labor to attempt the unionization of the Negro. Now in many parts of the South the Negro has an actual economic advantage, for his standards of living are lower than those of the Caucasian. With the spreading of the new economic ideal the white man of the South will enter a new phase of competition with the black in the effort to claim the South for the Caucasian and his posterity.

Many will say that it is impossible for the white man to pursue a policy whereby white labor will dominate the economic activities of the South: that the South is too big, and the

Caucasians too few, for the economics of the white race to prevail there save by sharing both present and future with the black race and its increasing millions. It will be difficult, but it is necessary, and the white man will find a way out. Northern white men are gradually extending their labor unions to the South. Northern laborers are going to the South and strengthening these unions.

The white laborers of America have it in their power to redeem the South from Negro standards of efficiency and bring it to white standards of pay without endangering race and institutions. This can be done by the white man's claiming those occupations which he desires most and which he is able, by reason of his numbers, to fill. At the same time the white man of the South should make great efforts to increase the coming of white men of the North, receiving them as his natural allies in the effort to make the South a white man's land. The economic struggle is severe in the Northern States. Beyond an imaginary line, there is a continent of possibilities awaiting the man from the North. The South, with its mild climate and incalculable natural resources, beckons the white man from the congested centers of the North. So let him come and take part with those of his race in their endeavor to establish the white man and his culture in the South, even as these are established elsewhere in the Union.

To abandon the South to the Negro is to place in peril the nation itself. If the South is to remain a broodland for blacks, a racial appanage of Africa, its present millions and its future increase will overflow the nation, leaving no section free to express the genius of the white race unhampered by the presence of a colored.

Students of American history will see in the efforts to establish the white race in the Southern States a purpose kindred to that ideal which created the Republican Party. Northern men formed the Republican Party to keep the slave and slave standards out of the Northwest. In this it was successful. Had the men who formed this party been quiescent, permitting the spread of the Negro, much of America that is now white would be burdened by the presence of the Negro.

Slavery was mistaken for the Negro problem. The nation hoped that its abolition would settle the problem. Jefferson, Madison, Lincoln and other great Americans knew that slavery was but a phase of the Negro problem, and that the problem would exist and grow greater as long as the races continued to dwell together.

The Republicans kept the institution of slavery from the Northwest and made it clear that they did not wish the free Negro there. Lincoln and men of his belief were the most far-seeing statesmen of their day. Their policy was to exclude the Negro from the great territory which was to become the home of the white race. Lincoln, who understood the Negro problem better than most of his followers, supplemented the ideal of a white North and West by plans to make the entire nation white. By the side of this great man, slave owner and negrophilist sink into an unenviable equality. The one sought to implant into unsettled America a race that would forever imperil civilization; the other, overwhelmed with sympathy for those enslaved, became unbalanced and sought to co-ordinate control of civilization with a people who have not produced a civilized culture and have not maintained such culture when imparted to them.

The slave owner would have imposed the South's immense burden upon the entire nation, leaving no spot free for the increase of the white race and the unhindered development of white culture. The negrophilist developed into an advocate of equalization and miscegenation. Between these two fanatical factions, which eventually led the nation into civil war, there stood Lincoln with his followers in the North and his sympathizers in the South, who sought to preserve the Northwest for the Caucasian and who never dreamed of giving the Negro a share in directing the destinies of a white man's civilization.

For several years prior to 1835, abolition received its chief support in the South. The first abolitionist newspaper was established in Tennessee. In 1832, the legislature of the State of Virginia lacked but a few votes to enact a law freeing all the slaves of the State. Slavery had become unprofitable.

Along with the abolition movement of these days there was an accompanying purpose to repatriate the Negro. Every American of note, North as well as South, advocated the removing of the Negro to Africa. *Had it not been for the invention of the cotton gin, it is quite likely that the United States now would be a white nation.* The opposition to slavery was so strong in the South, less than one-fifth of the Southerners owning slaves, that more than two hundred thousand Southerners fought in the armies of the Union, though the right of secession had been taught in the South as it had been in the North.

The Republican Party, in 1856, made its campaign, stress-

ing the immorality of slavery. By 1860, its astute leaders had injected a new vigor into the party by stressing the ill economy of slavery. The Northerner was made to see that there was an irreconcilable economic warfare between the white and the black; that the introduction of the Negro into the territories would close these lands for the free development of the institutions of the white man; that the Northern non-slave-owner in his movement westward would be in economic competition with the slaves whom the slave owner purposed to introduce into the new lands of the West.

The Republican leaders, without knowing as we know the results upon the white race of its historic and world-wide contact with the colored, but by analyzing local conditions merely, sought to preserve as much of America as possible for the unhindered development of civilization. The economic inequalities between the North and the South were as glaring in 1860 as they are at present. That backwardness in civilization is in direct relation to the numerical proportion of Negroes in the population was as well known to Lincoln as it is to ourselves. Economics conditioned upon Negro labor, in contrast to those expressed by white standards, was the burden of that famous volume by Hinton Helper, *The Impending Crisis*. Helper made the mistake of believing that *slavery* was the cause of the inequalities between the North and South. It was not slavery, but the *Negro,* whether slave or free. The Negro is at the present time not held in slavery, but wherever he is in contact with civilization his presence is reflected in that the civilization is inferior to those cultures of the whites which are free from the Negro.

The early Republicans, in their attempt to save the West for race and culture, were actuated by motives identical with those of the Caucasians of the Pacific States, who refuse to permit the Asiatic to inundate their soil and rob them of their rightful heritage. In both instances it is the white man who sees the future clouded and made impossible by competition with colored peoples, who would reduce the white man to their cultural level.

One consideration concerning the economic phase of the color problem should not escape our attention. It is that the Negro may be eliminated from politics and from white social circles in all countries, but that he cannot be fully eliminated from economic competition with the whites. The economic phase of the problem is always evident, even though the social and political phases are temporarily non-evident.

The white man may avoid marrying the Negro's sister and may refuse the Negro the privilege of determining the limits of political activities, but he cannot avoid the depressing influence of the Negro's lower cultural standards. As long as the races dwell together there will be a race problem; its political and social phases may be held in abeyance, but the economic phase of the problem will be constantly evident.

We keep out the Asiatic with a strong right arm and at the same time establish and perpetuate the African within our midst. If this is not to be a white man's country, with the white man's standards of efficiency and remuneration, why not lower the bars and let the yellow man come in? Consciously we assert the standards of the white race upon this continent. It crops up whenever there is danger of Asiatic immigration, however meager and peaceful. Asiatic standards are higher than African, and it is needless to exclude the Asiatic if our standards are to be lowered by the African. We have extirpated the red race, we exclude the yellow; shall we be content to perpetuate the ever increasing black in our midst?

Our economics cannot continue half Negro and half Caucasian. If the Negro standards win in the South, their triumph there will be reflected in the North. Often have the Northern capitalists sent to the lands of inferior economic standards for forces to combat the rise of wages of the Northern white laborer.[5] Against the incoming of these inferiors the American labor unions secured the enactment of the alien contract labor law, which prevents foreign laborers coming to this country under contract for employment. But in the South there are millions of low cultural standards against whom the North cannot erect a prohibition of ingress. These are "Americans," and move at will.

We are one people—a nation. That which injures one section will eventually qualify the standards of the other. Asiatic exclusion and the contract labor law will not save the West and the North. Within our midst there are a people who, in their future massed millions, are to mongrelize the labor market as they are to mongrelize race and government.

The future is before us! Our children will see twenty millions of Negroes and mixbreeds in America. Our children's children will compete with a greater number and the future be yet before them.

We may save our descendants or we may bequeath to them a burden which they cannot bear. What answer shall the

5 Read John R. Commons' *Races and Immigrants in America.*

white laborer give when asked to repatriate the black as he has segregated the red and excluded the yellow—by law? When the white man sees his position as it is, and the position of his children as it is to become, there is no doubt what his answer will be.

CHAPTER XII

Problems of Civilization in Contact with Colored Races: Religious and Social Problems

The previous chapter sought to show that the economics of civilization in contact with colored races must be racialized for the purpose of preserving the white type, if cultural progress is to continue. We are now to observe the influence of certain religious and political teachings in their bearing upon the culture and race purity of the white man in contact with the colored.

The enquiry into the influence of religion in its bearing upon interracial relations will affect religious *sociology* rather than theology, for it is the teaching with regard to man's relation to man which concerns us. The Christian religion strikes direct at the "ape and tiger" in human nature, and the races of mankind are ever in need of its social teaching. The Negro in Northern and Central Africa is turning a deaf ear to the teaching of Christ, which is unwelcome because it inhibits natural propensities—turning from Christianity and in great numbers espousing Mohammedanism. The latter does not curb lust, does not require high cultural standards, and is winning Africa by the millions; while Christianity, laboriously taught, is claiming a few thousands.

But in Southern Africa, because of the presence of European civilization and the absence of Mohammedan missionaries, the natives have come nominally under Christian influence. The slave owners of South Africa, like those of the United States, were genuinely intent upon teaching their religion to their slaves, and at the time of the abolition of slavery in these countries many Negroes were Christian converts.

At the time of emancipation of the slaves, there poured into South Africa a horde of European missionaries possessing various Christian creeds, but unified generally in one respect. They believed in the essential, the practical, and the immediate equality of blacks and whites.[1] The coming of these mis-

[1] The Wesleyans were possibly an exception, especially so with regard to their immediately practical program. Certain representatives of the London Missionary Society were the greatest offenders. This organization, through influence in England, assumed practical dictatorship in the colony. Some of its members, objecting to its political activities, withdrew from it.

sionaries was at first welcomed by the colonials, but their subsequent activities produced a deep hatred in the heart of the white race in Africa toward "Christianity," as interpreted by Europe.

South Africans believed in the Christian's God, but rejected the missionaries' social teaching. The present missionary movement is better organized than the former, has less objectionable social teaching, and is headed by educated and earnest leaders; but the colonial is still uneasy, and at the first breaking out of trouble with the natives the colonial condemns the missionary.

As a heritage of past missionary influence, the Negro has the idea drilled into him that there is no difference, save that of skin and hair, between the Negro and the Caucasian. At first the Negro accepted the rule of the white man as the natural right of a highly constituted race over an inferior one; but he gradually came to believe that the white man's superiority was cultural only, and that he, the Negro, was the natural equal of the white man and that the white man was oppressing him by not recognizing this equality, or, in the opinion of some of the more ignorant, the black man's superiority.

In South Africa, as in the United States, the teaching of equality led the Negro to despise the white man and his authority. He became unruly and aggressive and ended, in the one country as in the other, a ravisher of the women of the white man.

Constituted authority of the white race has not served to deter the black criminal. Black assailants of white women have become so numerous and their detection so difficult, in South Africa, that this crime has assumed proportions which threaten the supremacy of the white race immediately. The criminals are hidden in the native villages by their compatriots or are spirited away to native territory. Their detection is an impossibility and the white homes are in a state of siege. Every Negro will not commit the crime, but most of them will palliate it, and few, if any, aid in detecting the criminal.

White men accompanying white women are assailed and their women seized and assaulted. The Negro, or a group of Negroes, enters the homes of white men during the absence of the men and assaults the women. Numerous white women have been maimed for life, others have been killed. During the author's residence of two years in South Africa, three white

women shot and killed their black assailants, but no white man exacted life by reason of his women being dishonored. British rule has established law in South Africa, as elsewhere, but many black criminals cannot be apprehended and punished. Law, if not effective, is not synonymous with *order.*

It was the policy of the South African press to suppress reports of assaults by Negroes upon white women, for fear that excitement following publicity would imperil the law; but the coming of an English negrophilist (seemingly so), as Governor General of the colony, marked a departure in this respect. A Rhodesian jury condemned to death the convicted black ravisher of a local white woman. The Governor General (Lord Gladstone, son of the famous British statesman of that name) commuted the sentence. This official was not of the political sympathies of the majority of South Africans, and the event was seized upon by his opponents and led to a general publicity with regard to the extent of such Negro crime in order to condemn the European official. South Africa suddenly realized that the crime was nation-wide. Intense excitement prevailed, mass meetings were held, and the citizens threatened but did not take the law into their own hands. Encouraged by negrophilism and undeterred by the threats of the whites, the Negro increased, rather than diminished, the number of assaults upon white women.

A large and conservative newspaper of the Transvaal *(The Rand Daily Mail),* in order to prevent lawlessness and, if possible, to stay the Negro's brutal passion, circulated a petition in Johannesburg and vicinity, the purpose of which was to pray the nation's parliament for relief. Without the aid of a paid canvasser, the small white population of the gold fields furnished 51,925 signatures to this petition, which read in part as follows:

PETITION

To the Honourable the Speaker
and the Honourable Members of the House of Assembly.
The Petition of the Undersigned Citizens of
the Witwatersrand

HUMBLY SHEWETH:

"1. That your petitioners desire to direct your attention to the prevalence of native crime, more especially of outrages on women and children throughout the Witwatersrand District.

"2. That, in consequence of these outrages, neither the life nor the honor of white women in this district can be safe; more especially in the numerous suburbs, which are at the present time

practically unpoliced, and therefore the favorite resort of native criminals.

"3. That the number of cases of rape and attempted rape (nearly all occurring in this area) reported for 1910 in the Transvaal was 208, and that your petitioners are of opinion that the cases which did not come before the courts of this country are at least equal in number."

Parliament received this petition and some of its members wept. It appointed a commission to make a nation-wide investigation of the crime, which was done, the commission's report being published in the summer of 1913.[2] This commission was constituted of eight members, three of whom were women, headed by Melius de Villiers, lately Chief Justice of the Orange Free State. Another of the commissioners was the famous Boer general, De Wett. The following is a brief summary of the recommendations of the commission: With regard to miscegenation, (1) "That in future, cohabitation, including marriage, be prohibited between Europeans and aboriginal natives throughout the Union." (2) "That prostitutes of foreign origin who submit themselves to natives (besides being subject to other penalties) be deported." Continuing, the report recommends the suppression of indecent publications, the "closed," rather than the "open" mine compounds. (In a closed compound a native may not leave the enclosure during his period of employment). It proposes to encourage the employment of white female domestic servants in the white households, and by this measure, eliminate the chief danger, the so-called "house-boy"—a male native employed in South Africa by white families to do the service usually allotted to white women servants in Europe and America. It was further proposed to print and distribute a circular warning newly arrived European women of the danger of assaults from the male Negro. These printed precautions should contain among others the following points:

(1) White women should not wander about alone.
(2) White women should be especially careful in their treatment of the male house servant.
(3) The daughters of the house should have as little as possible to do with the "house-boy."
(4) The house-boy should not be allowed to enter the bedrooms of ladies of the house, to bring in tea or coffee, or to act as chambermaid, or in any other intimate capacity.
(5) Female white children should be carefully guarded and not be left alone with the male negro servants.

2 See the *Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire Into Assaults on Women*, 1913.

About the time that the "black peril" (term used to designate the phenomenon of Negro assaults upon white women) was engrossing the minds of South Africans, an additional menace occurred in the form of a resolution in the German Reichstag, which requested the German Colonial Office to abolish the laws which prevented whites from marrying blacks in the German colonies. German Southwest Africa (now British territory) borders in part on the Union of South Africa, and the whites of South Africa feared a reflected influence and feared further that the German resolution presaged a revival of European negrophilism.

"Black Peril" and the German resolution caused white South Africa to analyze and seek the source of the danger which menaced every white home. The Negro, at one time easily controlled, was now threatening social order. Opposition to the European missionary had been ever latent in the social mind, and at this juncture there reappeared bitter criticism of the missionary activities which, by a subtle influence upon the mind of the Negro, had created presumption and insolence on his part. Smarting from what was believed to be unjust condemnation, the Transvaal Missionary Association, composed of nineteen separate sectarian missionary organizations, met at Johannesburg and issued an address to the public in which it was stated that if the missionaries were condemned, Christianity itself was condemned.

The German resolution praying for the privilege for whites to marry blacks in the German colonies had been secured by a combined vote of the *clericals* and *socialists*, and with this resolution, and the European missionary influence in mind, the author, seeking to show that not Christianity but a false social teaching of certain Christians, was the object of criticism, wrote the following address to the Transvaal Missionary Association while still in South Africa:

"There has been a tendency in teachers of Christianity to utilize its social tenets to level races and cultures. But Buddhism did this, and so did Mohammedanism. The last named arose among a white people and threatened to attain world dominion, but its influence gradually waned as its white custodians interbred with colored races.

"In Africa, in China, in India, in Nearer Asia, in Latin America—in these countries, some of them evangelized by the Apostles—Christianity has been implanted by the white man and has not survived the white man. Two thousand years of Christian activities seem to establish that the white race as

white is custodian of the Gospel of Jesus and that to the white man as white is entrusted the spreading of the Gospel.

"A gospel of equality of races cannot but end in free miscegenation of races. Europe preaches the gospel of equality of races, with the result that white men and white women come to the colonies and marry colored men and women. Let us examine Christianity as a religion and detect the sources of this uncritical interpretation of its tenets, so uncritical and so momentous in final results as to imperil the white race and its culture.

" 'Accusations of this kind practically amount to an indictment of Christianity itself, and if substantiated, would really *mean the condemnation of that religion among all classes, irrespective of color*' [3] (Italics supplied).

"The fundamental assumption underlying this statement is antagonistic to the history of the Christian Church. It assumes that Christianity in all of its manifestations is one and the same. This is not so. Let us ask these various organizations represented in the Transvaal Missionary Association whose Christianity they have in mind. Do the Methodists have in mind Baptist Christianity? Or do the Baptists have in mind Presbyterian Christianity? It appears that there are at least nineteen varieties of Christianity represented in this report and protest concerning Christianity's relation to 'black peril.'

"These Christian organizations, when content to meet in unity of spirit, stress the theology of Christianity. They hold that the fellowship of the Christian mind is through the spiritual brotherhood wrought by the vicarious sacrifice of the incarnate Second Person of the Trinity. Admit that the theology of the discordant creeds is unified, what then is the justification for their divisions? Is it not clear that if their theology is unified, justification for their division must arise from their sociology, or from their theology as it affects mankind? Discordant social teachings are the sole justification for the existence of the various Christian sects as separate entities, and is it not probable that out of the nineteen varieties of sociology there might be one or more which is adjudged inimical to South African civilization, without South Africa being culpable of attempting to discredit the spiritual conceptions of Christianity and to condemn that creed 'among all classes, irrespective of color'? [4]

[3] Extract from the address of the Transvaal Missionary Association, the purport of which was to show that it was not the missionaries' teaching of Christianity to the native that caused the native to assault white women.

[4] The question of church polity is here regarded as a sociological question.

"No specific Christianity is named in this report, so we may ask whether the Christianity is that of Arius or that of Athanasius? Is it Greek or Roman? Roman or Protestant? Do these missionaries identify themselves with Greek Christianity, with its Holy Fire at Eastertide, or with Roman Christianity, with its immaculate Virgin and infallible Pope? Or do they hold that the numerous creeds of Protestant Christianity have no justification as separate entities?

"Whose Christianity is indicted? White men of South Africa may indict the negrophile sentiment of the 'Christianity' of the clericals of the German Reichstag, who plead for the privilege of miscegenation, and yet not indict the Christianity of an American bishop, who declared 'Though the Negro be as holy as John the Divine, I will not marry his sister.'

"What Christianity, my brethren, is indicted? Is it blasting at the Rock of Ages or tinkering with the Trinity to oppose the social teaching of your predecessor, Vanderkempt, who came to South Africa and married a negress? Will the crystal stream become diluted, or the ethics of the Galilean violated, if white Africa remove the fangs from the 'Christianity' of a Dr. Philip, who established Basutoland in an inaccessible range of mountains?[5] Let the missionary understand that the essence of Christianity is not negrophilism. Has there not been an eisegesis of the Gospel of Christ as well as an exegesis? Nineteen sects in the Transvaal alone seem to imply that there has been. Christianity interpreted in such way as to aid civilization in Africa will be acceptable to the colonial who, himself, from the first, has earnestly taught his religion to the native.

"It will not injure, but actually promote the missionary influence in South Africa for the well meaning missionaries to admit the errors of their movement: The political errors of their influence, such as the forbidding of outraged colonists to retaliate against the thieving and always impudent Xosa clans; giving the territory east of the Great Fish river to the Kaffir, when it rightfully belonged to the white; establishing Basutoland in a mountain fastness to remain a perpetual menace to the white; placing white colonists under the jurisdiction of half-breed chiefs; giving unracialized suffrage to Cape Colony. The economic sins of their number who came as spiritual advisers and remained as commercial exploiters. Their social sins, such

5 Basutoland, established and perpetuated by missionary influence in the very heart of the Union, is a negro territory, a grave menace to the white occupation of South Africa. Dr. Philip became almost dictator of Cape Colony in the early days of negrophilism. His is the most illustrious name in the history of the London Missionary Society, if we except that of Livingstone, who withdrew from that society.

as the perpetual and pitiless misrepresentations of the Boer civilizers of South Africa; the failure to warn against and prevent by legal mandate the marriage of European men and women to Negro men and women; the endless harping upon the nobility of colored races and the depravity of the white; the licensing of co-racial schools and the persuasion of ignorant and poverty-stricken white parents to send their children to these schools to receive utterly false teaching in matters concerning equality of races; the placing of white children with black ones, forming them in public parade, the children carrying banners inscribed 'Ex uno sanguine' (of one blood); the refusal to permit the word 'colour' to be used in co-racial schools, when it is inscribed indelibly in human history; the citing of the willing prostitution of women of the black race to men of the white as parallel to and offsetting black men's forceful assaults upon white women."

These "errors" of the missionary apply mainly to the past.[6] Not so, however, the last one enumerated. The missionary type has changed for the better, and also the social teaching of the missionary. The present missionary teaches of the same God as the former, the same Redeemer, but there is a much modified negrophilism in his social teaching.

The British demand for miscegenation was in response to the spirit of the social teachings of British "Christianity." The Germans reinforced religious sanctions to miscegenation by adding those of German socialism. In Germany, the religious party, the *clericals*, combined their vote with the *socialists* to pass the resolution praying the Colonial Office to permit whites to marry blacks in the German colonies.

The German clericals interpreted Christianity as encouraging intermarriage between Negroes and white people, and sought to repeal the German colonial laws which, together with those of the Boers and the North Americans, are the only instances of the white ideal being strengthened and made possible by legal prohibition of interracial marriage.

It is evident that those posing as custodians of a Gospel whose genius is missionary, whose scope is universal, and whose claim is exclusive, may be of great harm to the cause they misrepresent by placing literal constructions upon the anthropomorphisms of a spiritual religion. Why place an interpretation upon the "Fatherland of God and brotherhood of man" ideal of the Christian religion which nature and human

6 They are based upon the history of South Africa as written by British writers. See list of references given at the close of Chapter VIII.

history have proved to be fallacious? *Why literalize "brotherhood of man" and spiritualize "fatherhood of God"?* If the brotherhood through Christ is physical, then so is the fatherhood through God.

Let those who believe themselves chosen to evangelize the world understand that, up to the present time, after nearly two thousand years of Christian activity, apparently God has entrusted the heralding of the Gospel to the white race, not to the Negro or to the mixbreed. Christianity, times without number, has been implanted by white teachers among colored races, but the Christian religion has never survived the white teachers. When the whites have departed or become eliminated through miscegenation, the Christian religion has been abandoned altogether, or has degenerated into crass superstition. This is a cold fact that is verifiable. It may not be a welcome fact to European Christianity.

The Apostles turned to the white man and to the colored. The white man perpetuated the Apostles' teaching and made the Christian religion ascendant among the creeds of the world. Had the Apostles confined their activities to negroid Africa, how different would have been the result! The Christian Fathers came to Africa and taught and suffered martyrdom. There the blood of the martyrs did not prove to be the seed of the Church. Christianity perished in the soil of Africa, but the Christian religion is becoming universal through the blood of Europe.

The German churchmen would hybridize the races by biologizing a spiritual ideal. These churchmen interpret a spiritual "brotherhood in Christ" to the end that they destroy the race that has proved itself the custodian of Christ's spiritual and ethical teaching. The German socialists, omitting the "fatherhood of God" conception of the Christian, but borrowing his "brotherhood of man" ideal, do, without the former, give identical interpretation to the latter.

The God of these churchmen saw fit to make some men white and some men black; to endow the white with potentialities, the realization of which would, in fullness of time, conceive an ethical monotheism and a spiritual brotherhood of mankind. What God has done, the churchmen may succeed in undoing, but that which the churchmen seek to do God cannot undo. The churchmen may succeed in hybridizing the white and the black. The God of the churchmen will not transform the hybrid into its original elements. If the churchmen are making a mistake, it is irremediable.

The German socialists affirm that all men *are brothers* and that all men *shall be brothers-in-law*. Those who boast of German culture being the hope of the world seek blood admixture with a people who have no cultural history. While asserting Teutonic ascendancy they crave the hand of the negress.

The clericals would incorporate the Negro in the white race to hasten the millennium, the socialists to utopianize the earth. The blood of civilization is torpid. It needs revivification by the juice of the jungle.[7]

The clericals and the socialists are at last agreed. The one party teaches that Christ is God, the other would supplant Christianity with a social religion. But the lion has lain down with the lamb, the impossible has been attained, unison accomplished, in this one desire to marry Negroes. The erstwhile implacable enemies have met in a great political arena and have forgotten the past in a reveling over the future. Politics have made strange bed-fellows in the German Reichstag and promise to attain similar results in Darkest Africa.

Possibly no phase of the political problem arising from the white man's contact with the colored has given the white race as much anxiety as suffrage. Those portions of the white race which dwell with the colored are subject to those of their own race who dwell apart from the colored. The whites who dwell apart from the colored races have, in general, imposed their conceptions of the color problem and its remedial measures upon their less numerous brethren. Those whites who live apart from the Negro, by mistaken conceptions as to what constitutes the Negro problem, have sought to give the Negro an authoritative voice in determining the activities of Caucasian civilization, hoping that the sense of responsibility engendered by authority conferred would, in some way never made clear, add to the Negro's ability.

Suffrage may be used to level *artificial* ranks in society, but if in the leveling process the ballot is used to reduce a progressive race to the status of a non-progressive, then the most optimistic democrat may well hesitate to further such a program under peril of a recession in culture. It is just this that non-racialized suffrage brings about. Civilization's every pulsebeat is Caucasian. Its source is in the white race, and it cannot

7 An American abolitionist actually advanced the theory that the blood of the white man was become dry, and that the white race was in need of the extra sap or juice that flowed in the blood of the Negro. An English abolitionist of national fame affirmed that the Pygmy and the Bushmen were originally tall Negroes who became dwarfed through the white man's cruelty, and if these stunted races were kindly treated they would resume their former stature. Is it not seen that the German clericals and socialists have no monopoly in ignorance of ethnologic law?

continue apart from the white race. Unracialized suffrage conditions the advancement of one race to the choice of the other race. The Negro has not produced civilized culture, as we know it, nor, as yet, proved himself capable of sustaining it.

Civilization is but the lengthened shadow of the institutions of the Caucasians who have gone before us, supplemented by our own additions. *That the colored races do not originate is the most solemn fact of human history, the only fact that bodes ill for the future.* To affirm that the non-creative races shall have a voice in determining the use of the productions of a creative people is stretching the principles of brotherly generosity to the breaking point, and implies that the non-creative races have sustaining and perfecting qualities which their history proves that they have not. Certainly the non-creative blacks have no cause for complaint if denied a voice in the white race's civilization. A race that has not made contribution to cultural achievement may not be said to have natural, moral or social right to the control of civilization. While all white men do not evince capacity to inaugurate new movements, and some do not appear readily to appreciate or sustain new contributions, there is inherent within the white race a genius for inventions and for the application of inventions. Each white individual does not manifest creative capacity, but there is bound up with the race, transmissible by the laws governing heredity, the potentiality of creative genius.

If we judge by results of racial efforts—and no other standard is satisfactory—the white race, if not the sole custodian of creative genius, is certainly its highest expression. No other race is second. The gap between the Caucasian and the Mongolian is not filled. The white man is the sun that lights the world; the luster of other races is but reflected glory. The white man is in fact what the negrophilist is in theory—the voice of the Almighty upon earth.

The political question is this: If the Negro does not initiate progress, shall he condition the progress of the white man? If he does not create, shall he be given a voice in deciding the manner and extent of distribution? If he does not sow, shall he have the right to determine the time and methods of reaping?

Let it be conceded that the Negro has no natural right to a voice in control of the things he cannot create, and we are then confronted with the question of expediency in conferring upon him such control. It seems that this matter should be settled without sentiment for or against the Negro as such, or

the white man as such. If civilization shall profit most by the Negro having exclusive control of all its activities, then give to the Negro exclusive control. If civilization profits most by giving the Negro partial control in determining progress which arises from the white man, then make the Negro a co-partner with the white man. But if civilization is safest when entrusted to the exclusive control of the race that creates and sustains it, then let this race have the exclusive voice in determining its limits and activities. In deciding such a momentous issue, let us act with the welfare of our civilization only in mind. We agree that the Negro has not been a creative race, that he has not invented, has not set on foot new measures to benefit mankind. Here there can be no difference of opinion, for we have knowledge of six thousand years of Negro history, during which period he has not contributed to cultural attainments.

As the question of the Negro's value as a creative factor in cultural development may be removed from the realm of speculation by appeal to history, so may we, in the same manner, determine his value as a sustaining factor when in possession of the culture of the white race. We have noted his depressing and devolutionary influence upon the cultures of the early white man in contact with his race, and we now have before us the Negro in large numbers in the white man's civilization in South Africa, Latin America and in the United States. We have observed that the intensity of civilization is in inverse ratio to the numerical preponderance of the Negro in the population. Of this there is no doubt, nor can there be any dispute, for that the whites now in contact with colored races "feed out of the hand" of the whites who are apart from the colored races is as verifiable as any other unquestioned fact. It is the white, not the mixed, civilizations of the world that lead in cultural advancement. In the mixed populations, the colored man's presence and influence prohibit the higher attainments. The white man in contact with the black cannot compete with the white man apart from the black, for the black man limits the progress of the white.

On the other hand, we have the Negro self-governments of Haiti, and Santo Domingo from which to measure the Negro's capacity to sustain the white man's culture when he is left to his own resources. Within a brief period the white inhabitants of Haiti were driven out or put to death by the free halfbreeds and the enslaved full blacks. It was but little more than a century ago when this, the most splendid of the French colonies, fell into the hands of the Africans, with the result

that the plantations are weed and forest grown, mansions have deteriorated and none have taken their place, secret rites of the West Coast of Africa have been revived, and with difficulty have grave-robbing and cannibalism been suppressed. Haiti, and Santo Domingo, after a century of independence, are threatened with bankruptcy, and to protect them from their creditors and to stay the retrogressive forces, the United States has had to take over their government. During the past century these independencies were aided by white nations in many ways, but they have not been able to maintain the white man's culture.

We see then that those who hold that the Negro may not be safely entrusted with a share in the control of our culture, base such conclusion upon the known cultural history of that race, both as to its creative and sustaining capacity. They are able to take the Negro's measure as a cultural factor without sentiment. His specific gravity within white civilization is determinable from this effect upon the culture of the white man with which he is in contact, and further by his failure to carry on the white man's culture which he inherited in those countries once white but now black.

In South Africa, in the United States, and wherever else the Negro has voice in the control of the civilization of the white man, such privilege was not attained by the Negro's initiative, but was conferred upon the Negro by the whites who were not in contact with the Negro. It was done under a misapprehension of the cultural value of the colored races, and without doubt was intended to result in benefit to civilization.

When the British realized their mistake, they extended Crown control to those colonies upon which they had enforced Negro suffrage. Crown control displaced home rule, and by doing so reinstated white ascendancy in the colonies. The United States has silently acquiesced in certain legislation of the Southern States, the sole intent of which was to eliminate temporarily the Negro from politics.

There is generally throughout the South a growing number of Democrat politicians who seek the Negro vote if they themselves may control the Negro vote. Politicians of this class would submerge the civilization of the South if, by so doing, they could enjoy a brief ascendancy. They are willing for the Negro to vote if he will vote the Democratic ticket. They place party above race and civilization. The white Republicans of the North who have assented to the disfranchisement of the black Republicans of the South in behalf of the race and cul-

ture of the white man, may have just cause for complaint if the white South "bullies" the Negro out of the Republican party and seeks to "bully" him into the Democratic party. However, the number of politicians who would use the Negro for personal gain are few, and are opposed by an overwhelming majority of Southerners.

Southern prosperity was brought about in large measure by freeing the South from the Negro's influence in government; and the great moral reforms that characterize Southern ideals, such as pioneering the prohibition movement in the nation, are possible of attainment only by reason of the black being denied the ballot.

The most significant, as it is the newest, development of the political Negro problem of the South is seen in the rise of a "Lily White" Republican party. Sanctioned by the inner circles of the Republican party, this movement disallows authoritative voice to the Negro in the councils of the party, though he may, if he choose, vote the party ticket. The astute leaders of the Republican party, sanctioning the purpose of the Southern members to align themselves with the Democrat party of the South in maintaining a white oligarchy in a theoretical democracy, have revealed the sympathy of the white North with the white South, and have at the same time made possible the triumph of the Republican principles in the Southern States.

CHAPTER XIII

Solution of the Problems of Civilization When in Contact with Colored Races

SEPARATION OR AMALGAMATION—REPATRIATION A NECESSITY

Let us repeat that the "color problem" is not a problem of color, but of mentality. The difference between the white man, who has produced all civilizations, and the Negro, who has few cultural possessions save those which he has received from the white man, is not a color difference merely. Pigmentation affects the skin only, while civilized culture is the product of the mind's mastery over things material and spiritual. It so happens that white skin accompanies the culturally capable, while black skin accompanies the culturally deficient.

If the Negro had proved himself the master of things and the Caucasian had proved himself dependent upon the Negro's progress, we should readily concede superiority to the Negro. But as the history of civilization shows the white man to be the master of things and the colored races merely the beneficiaries of the white man's progress, we cannot deny superiority to the white man. Such conclusion is not a sentimental arrogation of the white man. He who would construct a race sociology will seek the facts of race history from which to induce generalizations. The sentimentalist will ignore the facts. The just man will see, in the white man's age-long dominion over things, undeniable implication of the white man's custodianship of creative genius; the negrophilist will ignore the white race as the sole cultural factor in progressive civilization and glibly descant upon the attainments of *mankind*. The negrophilist will attribute to the human race those achievements that have been attained by a particular sub-species of humanity. The negrophilist has not the vision of the scientist, and cannot have, for he is *color* blind.

White sentimentalists and the negroid writers of America will trace to the institution of slavery the American Negro's cultural incapacity. Unmindful of the truth known to ethnology—that the cultural status of the American Negro has antecedents in Africa—they ignore the fact "that in his own country the centuries have rolled away, finding him always in the same condition of dense ignorance and unalleviated savagery," and

that "the Caucasian race has been for centuries, in one or another capacity, the superior guiding or controlling force in human history, and its records contain the epitome of human achievement. During the same period, on the contrary, the Negro has occupied in every relation of life a subordinate position, whether as a savage awaiting the touch of civilization, or as a servile people, existing under the control and direction of the more highly civilized race." [1]

Slavery, in America, left the Negro in an infinitely better condition than it found him, but "The institution of slavery has loomed so large in our horizon that it has completely overshadowed that which went before it in African history. At every mention of Negro inefficiency, improvidence or immorality, it sufficed to recall slavery and the characteristic was explained." [2] Slavery not only left the American Negro more advanced culturally than the African members of his race, but did this, notwithstanding the fact that the American slaves were recruited from the "sweepings of the Sudanese plateau" (Keane), where the inferior tribes "had been crowded to the impassable barrier of the ocean" (Brinton). Slavery found the Negro an animist and left him a Christian. Slavery found him a cannibal and provided him with the meat of domestic animals. It found him a naked savage and left him clothed and civilized. The apologists of the Negro ignore the fact that the Negro's aptitudes as exemplified in America are a product of race as well as of environment.

The institution of Negro slavery resulted in greater harm to the white race than to the black. The Negro has profited through contact with the white, the white has suffered loss through contact with the Negro. Contact with the white man has affected the Negro through environment; it could not and cannot affect his heredity, save that as the institution of slavery has a tendency to place a premium upon the type of Negro best suited to servitude. In this respect slavery did influence Negro heredity inasmuch as the slave owner often resorted to selective breeding.

"The endowment of each generation at birth is dictated by heredity, but all that it acquires subsequently is the gift of environment." (Tillinghast.) Mental characteristics are subject to the laws governing heredity as well as are physical characteristics. With regard to race, heredity and environment, Robert R. Marett, Reader of Social Anthropology in the Uni-

1 *The Negro Problem: Abraham Lincoln's Solution*, by William P. Pickett, pp. 8 and 30.
2 Tillinghast, *The Negro in Africa and in America*, p. 5.

versity of Oxford, says in his *Anthropology*, "nor is it enough to take note simply of physical feature—the shape of the skull, the color of the skin, the tint and texture of the hair and so on. There are likewise mental characteristics that seem to be bound up closely with the organism and to follow the breed" (p. 23), "for race, let it not be forgotten, presumably extends to mind as well as to body. It is not merely skin deep." (p. 60), and "circumstances can unmake; but of themselves they never yet made man, nor any other form of life" (p. 129).

Environment has placed the Negro in America above the Negro in Africa, but environment cannot, save as a factor in evolution acting over an immense period of time, affect Negro race traits and instincts. Suddenly released from the white man's restraining influence, the Negro has retroceded to African conditions. Haitian history constitutes a clear example that the environment of the white man is not sufficient to hold the Negro to the white man's level. When the white man disappeared there, his culture was gradually racialized by the African.

If we are to solve the American Negro problem, we must forever be done with the conception prevailing among not a few whites, that the Negro is such as he is by reason of his subjection to the Caucasian. Until we do this, it is impossible to approach the problem on a rational basis. Those who were familiar with the condition of the slave at his introduction into America realized that his coming hither was to result in distinct advantage to him in every respect, spiritually as well as materially. We have seen that such consciousness caused colonial divines to meet the slave vessels, kneel and pray, thanking God that He had sent the benighted African to a Christian environment.

Then, too, we must be "done with the folly of saying that the Negro has had but three decades of opportunity for self culture, when, as a matter of fact, he has had an equal chance with the rest of mankind since the dawn of creation."[3] Nor shall we say that the Negro is a "child race," for he is not, but a fully constituted adult race, as much so as the Caucasian and the Mongolian. Also away with the ignorance shown in the belief that "each dog will have his day," as applied to the races. When shall the Bushmen, the Hottentot and the Pygmy assume world sovereignty? When the red Indian, the Ainu and the Eskimo? The "races" that have had their day were white! And let us dismiss the unwarranted assumption that environ-

[3] *The American Negro*, by Hannibal Thomas, p. 396.

ment will directly and immediately affect heredity. Heredity may be affected in but one way—congenitally. *You may breed a superior type of Negro by selective mating, just as you may breed a superior type of Caucasion by the same process; but no amount of imitation will instill a creative instinct or capacity into the Negro, nor will education or sympathetic aid of any kind.*

In dealing with the Negro problem, we must accept the Negro as Negro, and adapt our program accordingly. Six thousand years of history are sufficient to enable us to gauge his abilities and his probabilities. He has abided at a low cultural level during this period, and we should not endanger our future by attributing capacities to the Negro above his proven worth. Nor are we to take the Negro's estimate of his own value. English writers tell us that when the European carries civilization to the backward races, these latter look upon the white men as gods and their culture as the handiwork of the gods. But a generation of them grow up amidst this culture and look upon it as their own. They claim a share in its control and end by asserting that they are superior to the white man. This is so in South Africa and is equally so in the United States, where "The gravity of the situation is further accentuated for the reason that the ignorant and credulous freedmen have no adequate conception of their shortcomings. Devoid of discernment and sober judgment, they pose as the peers of their immediate fellow citizens, such is their colossal conceit, and are imbued with the belief that the people of the North stand ready to support and defend them in these pretensions."[4]

From the standpoint of our civilization (and we should not be affected by any other consideration) the Negro problem is that of daily contact with a race that has no high material history, and whose spiritual history is not in harmony with our own, not merely the enforced contact with this race, but with its increasing millions. We are bequeathing to posterity the greatest burden that civilization may know—millions upon millions of an alien race whose increase will spread over the nation.

There was almost complete cessation of the importation of Negroes into the United States in 1808, the year set by the Federal Constitution, after which their importation was unconstitutional. In 1810, there were 1,337,808 Negroes in the United States. In 1910 there were 9,827,763, showing an increase of more than sevenfold during the ten decades. Be-

4 Hannibal Thomas, *The American Negro*, p. 227.

tween 1860 and 1900 the Negro doubled his numbers by natural increase. If he should re-establish such percentage of increase during this century, there will be approximately forty million Negroes by the end of the century. Then if we suppose that his numbers are doubled every seventy-five years, the United States, if there be such, will contain a hundred million negroids at the close of the next century. Of course, by that time the blood of the African will have largely entered into the present dominant race. If the Negro is not removed from the United States the future American will be a mongrel, such as the peoples of Egypt, India, and certain of the Latin American countries.[5]

Let us analyze this burden. We will not overlook the fact that the Negro in his future millions will, by his numbers alone, limit the possibility of the increase of just so many whites, nor will we overlook the further fact that his presence is to Africanize American activities and ideals, even if the races remain separate, though we know that they will not. But here in this instance we shall consider the Negro as a depressing influence and actual burden upon the nation in the struggle for *advancement* in all lines, political, economic and social.

Socioloigsts tell us that human desires fall under one or another of six grand divisions. They designate these divisions as "the interests." They say that "an interest is an unsatisfied capacity, corresponding to an unrealized condition, and it is predisposition to such rearrangement as would tend to realize the indicated condition."[6] The six interests which cover all the desires and aims of mankind are asserted to be those of health, wealth, sociability, knowledge, beauty, and rightness. Three of these may call for definition. "Sociability" is that interest utilized in harmonizing human relations, in escaping social friction. "Beauty" is understood when it is learned that this interest applies to the development of the fine arts. "Rightness" applies to the securing of justice and includes the religious interest as well. The degree of national progress is conditioned upon the degree of realization of "the interests."

In dealing with the interests we are upon scientific ground where the negrophilist may not tread. Let us measure the

[5] A press dispatch from Princeton, N.J., dated January 20, 1922, states that "Professor Edwin Grant Conklin, head of the department of biology at Princeton University, declared today in a University scientific lecture that the United States would have to put a stricter ban upon immigration if it hoped to retain its present intellectual standing. Referring to the racial problem, he said that in two hundred years there would be an amalgamation of races in this country, even allowing for the vast difference between whites and blacks."

[6] Albion W. Small, *General Sociology*, p. 433.

Negro by the scale of the interest. *The difference between the Negro and the white in the furthering of national aims is the Negro burden upon our race and its institutions.*

We present here the interests as given in *General Sociology* (Albion W. Small), with arbitrary selections from their subdivisions (see Appendix I). Comment upon the "Conspectus of the Social Situation" will be superfluous, for our purpose is but to show that the Negro is not and cannot be a factor in national progress. Rather he can but be a burden upon the Caucasian in the latter's striving for advancement.

With regard to the inauguration of new institutions, the Negro's influence will be nil. The inquiry for the reader, then, is not what will the Negro contribute to social progress, but how much burden will be upon the Caucasian in the latter's struggle to progress. *The degree in which the Negro lags behind the Caucasian in creating and applying the material and spiritual agencies of progress will constitute the "white man's burden"*—a burden which is to forever thwart the nation in the attainment of those cultural heights warranted by Caucasian capacity and purpose.

"CONSPECTUS OF THE SOCIAL SITUATION

as given in the present state of achievement and in unsolved technical problems.

GRAND DIVISIONS[7]

I. ACHIEVEMENT IN PROMOTING HEALTH.

II. ACHIEVEMENT IN PROMOTING WEALTH.

III. ACHIEVEMENT IN HARMONIZING HUMAN RELATIONS.

IV. ACHIEVEMENT IN DISCOVERY AND SPREAD OF KNOWLEDGE.

V. ACHIEVEMENT IN THE FINE ARTS.

VI. ACHIEVEMENT IN RELIGION."

We are told that the Negro is with us to stay, that the Negro problem will solve itself, that if the white man be quiescent, God will solve the "race question." We would expect the quiescent platitudinarians, who lull the creative element in American civilization to sleep while the non-creative element is increasing by multi-millions, to add one more platitude and tell us that "God helps those who help themselves," but they do not. Such would be the only sensible platitude they have uttered, but it would defeat their purpose.

[7] For subdivisions falling under these respective grand divisions, see Appendix I.

The late A. H. Keane, foremost among British ethnologists, in reviewing the publication of Dr. R. W. Shufeldt, *The Negro,* said of those Americans whose Negro policy would sacrifice the white race and its civilization in preference to separating the races: "On this aspect of the question I read almost with terror the warning note raised by Dr. Shufeldt, who tells us that 'there are plenty of people in this country of ours who would far rather see the entire white race here rotted by heroic injections into their veins of all the savagery and criminality there is in the Negro, than have any number of the latter in any way inconvenienced by their being returned to the country from which their ancestors came.' Such fanatical regard for the susceptibilities of a race which, after all, is entitled to scant respect, becomes a crime against humanity, and, if persisted in, would end in national suicide. Surely they cannot shut their eyes to the deadly result of miscegenation in Latin America."

Dr. Shufeldt is a Northern man, a former member of the medical corps of the United States army and a naturalist of profound learning. His experience with the Negro has extended to all the Southern States and to the West Indies. During the fifty years of his scientific observation of the Negro, he has accumulated a knowledge of that race second to none other. His publication, *America's Greatest Problem: The Negro* (1915), contains the epitome of the results of his years of investigation. He makes it clear to us that if the Negro remains in the United States the future American is to be a mongrel and the future civilization reduced to the level of the mongrel.

Let us compare the solutions offered by our time-serving or ignorant demagogues with those of our greatest statesmen, men whose statesmanship and prophetic vision have withstood the test of time and events. In company with these great Americans, let us visualize the future. If we cannot peer into the years before us and see the burden upon our children and our children's children, we are not qualified to deal with the Negro problem. Men die; man lives on! We must look to the future. This visualization is essential at the present time, for a race problem is of such insidious nature as to be realized by the mass at such late date as to render its effective solution an impossibility.

Jefferson, the most far-seeing of our statesmen, foretold that we awaited separation of the races or their amalgamation. We have seen how his analysis is true, that it agrees with every instance in the contact of races during the sixty centuries of

written history. When the Negro numbered but one million, the fathers of the republic had already foreseen the gravity of the race problem and they knew that not the problem of slavery, but that of the Negro—his physical presence—whether slave or free, was a menace to our race and institutions.

"Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government." [8] Jefferson repeatedly pointed out that the problem of Negro slavery was but a phase of the Negro problem; that if the slaves were freed, the freedmen would remain. Jefferson believed that separation was possible and imperative.

Henry Clay was a life-long advocate of the necessity of removing the Negro from America. He, like Madison, Monroe and numerous other foremost Americans, from both North and South, became an active supporter of the American Colonization Society, the purpose of which was to return the freed Negro to Africa and which succeeded in founding the republic of Liberia, the ruling class of which is of American origin. This organization is still in existence, with headquarters at Washington. It is now well officered and is giving signs of a revival of its early energy. Of late, it is urging the United States government to intervene in behalf of Liberia and prevent further spoliation of that republic by Great Britain and France. The United States is certain to protect the independence of Liberia. At the request of that country the United States is now furnishing an administrator for its customs. Liberia may prove to be a providential gateway into Africa, at the disposal of the American government, for the repatriation of American Negroes.

Webster came to the point when he said, "If any gentlemen from the South shall propose a scheme to be carried on by this government upon a large scale, for their (the Negroes') transportation to any colony or to any place in the world, I should be quite disposed to incur almost any expense to accomplish that object." (Speech March 20, 1850.)

Stephen A. Douglas, in his contest with Abraham Lincoln for a seat in the United States Senate (1858), said "I am opposed to Negro citizenship in any and every form. I believe that this government was made by white men for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever." The im-

8 *Jefferson's Works*, Vol. I, 48. The author is indebted to *The American Negro Problem: Abraham Lincoln's Solution*, by William P. Pickett, for this and the quotations following, which concern the attitude of Clay, Webster, Douglas and Lincoln.

mortal Lincoln answered Douglas with, "I will say then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and the black races—that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of the Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality." (Speech at Charleston, Ill., September 18, 1858.)

Lincoln asserted that the purpose of the war was the preservation of the Union, not the abolition of slavery. He freed the slaves of that part of the Union still in rebellion in order to weaken the Confederacy. He recognized that the Negro is, and will remain, inferior to the Caucasian, and sought to relieve civilization of its black burden and the Negroes themselves of their hopeless competition with the whites, by colonizing them in a foreign country. Lincoln conceived a plan for colonization during the period of the Civil War and proposed an amendment to the Federal Constitution which would authorize the Congress to carry out his segregation ideal.

The untimely death of Lincoln put an end to the hope of segregation, and other forces instituted other ideals. The Reconstruction, with its subjugation of the white South beneath the heel of the black South, was not the work of Lincoln. Lincoln the Republican, and Douglas the Democrat, in league to save the Union, were not responsible for giving the African a share in control of the civilization of the Caucasian. This was the work of Sumner and Stevens, the Republicans, and of Butler, the Democrat. They and those of their school deracialized Caucasian institutions and sought to deracialize the Caucasian race.

It was the contemptuous rejection of the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution by all the Southern and most of the Northern States which led to the Reconstruction. Unable to secure the enactment of this proposed amendment, the politicians in power instituted those measures which resulted in the "Carpetbag"-Negro domination of the Southern States. When the Southern States no longer represented the will of the white South, their assent was obtained and the amendment passed by the necessary majority of states. The Civil Rights Acts passed by Congress, 1866, 1870, amended in 1871, and 1875, mark the supreme

heights of American negrophilism. Their sole intent was to level the Saxon with the African. In this respect negrophilism in the United States equaled British negrophilism in South Africa, but there the leveling process found none to stay its triumph, while in the United States the Supreme Court intervened in behalf of the white man. Charles Sumner was the most important personality in the United States Senate. His belief in the necessity of equalizing the white with the black was not less radical than that of Dr. Philip, whose influence threatened Caucasian supremacy in Cape Colony. Both were actuated by a profound conviction that their policies were necessary, and both believed themselves to be the agents of Providence in applying the social tenets of the Christian religion.

"These were his (Sumner's) dying words to Hoar: 'You must take care of the Civil Rights Bill—my bill—the Civil Rights Bill—don't let it fail.' . . . This law had for its purpose the obliteration of the color-line in the South, and to give to the Negroes the full and equal privileges of all hotels, street cars, passenger trains, steamboats, or other public conveyances, by land or water; of theatres and all other places of public amusement. It was, however, a milder law than the one sought by Sumner in that it did not attempt to obliterate the color-line in churches, schools, and cemeteries."[9] With the passage of this act, negrophilism began to wane. The "radicals" in Congress were displaced by conservative Republicans and by Democrats. White America was finding itself, and with the finding, Caucasianism has risen, decade by decade, resulting in the practical reversal of the policy of the equalizationists.

The anger caused by the war soon passed away, and that section which had preserved the Union gave unmistakable evidence that a mistaken policy arising from a mistaken theory would not be enforced upon a people who sought to remain white. "Charles Francis Adams, writing from the banks of the upper Nile, decries the 'utter fallacy of the theoretical rights-of-man and philanthropical African-and-brother doctrines. In plain vernacular English they are 'rot'; 'rot' which I myself have indulged in to considerable extent, and in the face of observable facts which would not down, have had to outgrow. . . . The work done by those who were in political control at the close of our Civil War was done in utter ignorance of ethnological laws and total disregard of unalterable fact'."[10]

9 *The Fourteenth Amendment and The States*, p. 19, by Charles Wallace Collins.

10 "Reflex Light from Africa," *Century, New Series*, Vol. 50, pp. 107, 109. Quoted in *Democracy and Race Friction*, Mecklin, pp. 245, 246.

Jefferson affirmed that the two races, equally free, could not live together in the same government. Webster and Clay were ready to secure their separation at almost any cost. Douglas and Lincoln were one in a common purpose to keep the institutions of the white man unsullied by the influence of the black, declaring ofttimes and unequivocally that political and social equalization of white and black should not be tolerated. We cannot go farther to show that prior to 1865 the great Americans were united in opposition to the equalization of the races, and were further united in common purpose to separate the races. From Washington to Grant, the eminent statesmen of both North and South foresaw that separation of the races was the only solution of the race problem. Amalgamation of the races, the alternative to separation, has ever been considered by the mass of Americans an unthinkable solution. A program having for its object the interbreeding of Caucasian and Negro would be the easiest way out of our difficulty, but such would entail an unspeakable degradation upon posterity. Speaking of assimilation as a solution of the Negro problem, Mecklin says: "Such solution is impossible. . . . For the white it is intolerable and even unthinkable, as it means ultimately the substitution of something new and unknown for his civilization and racial identity, involving perhaps the destruction of both." [11]

Let it be considered that the men who proposed repatriation of the Negroes were not fanatics. They were stern and capable. They believed that their proposed solution was possible when the Negro numbered one-fifth of the total population of the United States. They proposed such solution when the means of transit were insignificant in comparison with that at our disposal today. They seriously contemplated it when our national wealth was ludicrously little as compared to our wealth at present.

Some will say that it is vain to consider the proposal to settle forever the Negro problem by removal of the Negro to the home of his ancestors in Africa. Let us ask these wise critics if the present proposal is indicative of an impractical mind, how much more unbalanced were the minds which proposed such a remedy when our resources for its attainment were infinitely less than at present, and when the Negro was one-fifth of the national population, whereas he is now less than one-tenth. If the present advocates of segregation are seeking a chimera, what were the former advocates seeking? The prospect of a

11 *Democracy and Race Friction*, p. 268, by John Moffatt Mecklin.

white America may disturb the repose of certain negroid professors, or the whites who profit by Negro labor which reduces white labor to the Negro level, and the bigoted negrophilist whose program for the equalization of the races cannot but end in amalgamation of the races, but the advocates of repatriation of the American Negro to his African home are not to be influenced by such opposition.

If the ships that brought whites to our shores, many of them inferior whites from south and southeastern Europe, during the decade prior to the world war, had carried Negroes away, there need not now be a Negro in the United States.[12] If it is possible for multi-millions of individual whites on their own initiative to come to America at the rate of a million per year, why is it seemingly impossible for the richest and most powerful nation that time has produced to remove its alien race, whose total numbers are but a little more than the immigrants received in a decade?

Time-serving and timid individuals will tell you that repatriation of the American Negro is an impossibility. Ask these individuals for their solution of the problem. They have none! *There can be but two solutions—separation or amalgamation. Those who do not advocate the first are to be classed as adherents of the latter.* This is why the opponents of segregation have no solution to offer. If there is display of weakness by white Americans with regard to the solution of the Negro problem, is such weakness demonstrated by the separationists or by the amalgamationists; by those who work to attain a white America or by those whose influence is to result in a mulatto population and in a decadent civilization? White America, or negroid America, awaits upon the one or the other way of solving the Negro problem. That the "great divide" is to dwarf into a bridgeable ditch, and the "mountains are to be made low with the valleys" in the America of the future, is a law of the contact of races which is clearly discernible to the more capable mulattoes and near-whites, who chafe under restrictions at present enforced, denying them full access to Caucasian circles. If the races dwell together they will eventually amalgamate, and this the Negroes know as well as do the whites.

In what way shall the Negro problem be solved? Is the answer to be in accord with the proposed solutions of the foremost statesmen which the nation has produced, or are we to

12 A similar illustration of the feasibility of deporting the Negro was used by the Hon. John Temple Graves in an address at the University of Chicago.

drift on to the solution of amalgamation? Separation will make America white and insure the permanence of our race and culture. Amalgamation will make America negroid and its culture the expression of the mentality of the negroid.

CHAPTER XIV

The Ideal Negro State

Believing as did Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Clay, Webster, Douglas, Lincoln, Grant and many others less known to fame, "that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality" (Lincoln), and that "there is nothing more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government" (Jefferson), we are confronted by the queries: to what place shall we remove the Negro and by what means? The purpose of this chapter is to answer the former query, the succeeding Chapter will answer the latter.

Lincoln attempted to arrange with certain Latin American countries to take our Negroes, thinking that the absence of a color line there would prove favorable to such a move. But the Latin American people, when approached, quickly resented this implication. They proved to have a color line in theory, if not in practice, and would not consent to increase their Negro population. Grant sought to induce Congress to acquire Santo Domingo (Haiti) for the purpose of removing the Negroes to that island, but was unable to bring about its acquisition. Webster had always stood in readiness to support any measure initiated by Congress to remove the Negro to any place, if the place selected was outside the United States. Later and less farseeing advocates of segregation of the races have suggested setting apart a portion of the Union for the exclusive use of the Negro.

Would local segregation be a satisfactory solution of the problem? The expanding white population will soon need every acre of American territory. We have much to learn from our three centuries of experiments in moving and removing the Indians. Nor should we fail to grasp the principle enunciated by Stephen A. Douglas that "this government was made by white men for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever."

The logical place to segregate the Negro, if segregation is to be within the Union, is in the Gulf and South Atlantic states. To do this would deprive the white race of the most desirable portion of the Union. Segregation within the Union cannot be

a solution of the Negro problem, for the time will come when both races will overflow their borders.

Far-seeing Caucasian statesmen will not remove our Negroes to Latin America, including the West Indies, even though such measure were feasible, for the Western World may eventually become a Caucasian world. The white man has it in his power to make it such, and if the Western World is dedicated to the Caucasian and his institutions forever, it will become the source and center of civilization.

We must settle the Negro problem once for all, and to do this we have no recourse other than to return the Negro to his homeland.

We of this generation have thought but little upon this, the sole possibility of solving the Negro problem. But we shall see that the removal of the American Negro to the home of his ancestors will work to the advantage of the Negro as well as be in keeping with the necessity of the Caucasian. By this process of removing the burden from ourselves and our posterity we shall have served Negro posterity, in a manner and measure highly satisfactory to every well-wisher of the Negro race.

Segregation means everything to the Negro. In the previous chapters we have not sought the Negro's viewpoint, for we have had in mind the necessities of the white man only. But when contemplating the Negro and his striving for advancement in a country where his presence does not retard our cultural progress, we can see the Negro's problems as he sees them and sympathize with his aspirations.

If the Negro remains in the United States, and does not amalgamate with the Caucasian, he is to be submitted to an increasing intensity of competition before which he cannot hold his own. His leaders are daily bewailing the fact that the Negro has lost his former economic position in the North, and lost, as well, that powerful sympathy of the North which freed him and placed him upon his feet, but which hesitates at continually holding him in a position to which he is, by nature, unadapted.

The late Dr. Booker T. Washington seems to have realized the Negro's social and economic loss in the North better than the other mulatto leaders of the race have realized it, or perhaps he was more honest than those of his race who still seek to contrast the North and South in their treatment of the Negro. The negroid leaders and the white negrophilists know that the Negro's artificial position in Caucasian civilization is not

due to Negro initiative or to Negro ability, but to conflicts of rival groups of Caucasians over the Negro and his rightful place in nature and civilization. To keep the Caucasian divided upon the Negro race question, the negroid writers and the white negrophilists still contrast North and South. Sir Harry Johnston, a Casabianca of the now dwindling negrophilism, contrasts the "Christian North" with the brutal South. This learned, but sometimes self-contradictory authority was in America gathering material for his work, *The Negro in the New World,* at or about the time of the Springfield, Illinois, race riots in 1908. Regardless of the fact that the capital of Illinois, the home-place of Lincoln, was in the throes of a bloody race conflict by reason of which several regiments of state troops were called out to protect the Negroes, this English negrophilist contrasted North and South on the Negro race question to the—in his mind—eternal disgrace of the latter. The economic exclusion is extending southward, and the Negro will eventually be driven from the field of skilled labor in the South as he has been in the North; and from the better remunerated unskilled employment as well. White labor is eventually to dominate the labor market throughout the Union, and the white laborer will see that the defective and less capable of his own race is provided with the means of subsistence before these means are placed at the disposal of the members of another race. *The time will come when white men will need every job from street sweeper to corporation manager.* The next stage of the economic conflict between African and Caucasian in the Southern States will be marked by a further lowering of the relative remuneration paid to the Negro for his labor. To secure employment, the Negro will work for such compensation as will barely keep body and soul together. The less capable of the white race, if they are to compete with the Negro, will have to adjust themselves to the Negro's standards of living as determined by the stress of the Negro's situation. This much is certain—the Negro is to sink lower and lower if the white race remains white. Caucasian purity is, of course, the national ideal, and it is upon this basis that the analysis of the future Negro problem is made.

Unable to compete with the white man, save by drawing the white man to his own level, the Negro will become an outcast in America, as the inferior tribes are in India. That the United States will reach a status of races analagous to that of India is a belief which has been expressed by more than one American writer. If the white race retains race purity, economic

competition will compel the Negro to prey upon the white race for the necessities of life. "The war of races is no longer a sectional war; it is as bitter in the State of Chase and Giddings as it is in the State of Arkansas. If the Negro who is in our midst can be denied the right to work and must live on the outskirts of civilization, he will become more dangerous than the wild beasts, because he has a higher intelligence than the most intelligent beast. He will become an outcast lurking about the borders and living by depredation." [1]

In America the good that is in the Negro is to be controlled and repressed, but beyond the seas from whence he came, there is hope. In the home of his ancestors he will escape that intensity of competition before which he cannot stand, and be placed in an environment where his competitive inferiority will not inhibit initiative.

The question of the repatriation of the Negro should not be left to the Negro's adverse decision, any more than the question of the removal of the Indian was left to the choice of the Indian. Some of the Indian tribes wished to remain east of the Mississippi River; others wished to go to the lands allotted to them if they were assured of a stable government in their new homes. The Indian was in the way of the advancement of civilization; those who did not wish to move were made to move. Their consolidation was primarily for the purpose of leaving the Caucasian unhindered in his progress. Can anyone believe that American civilization was endangered by the Indian as it is by the Negro? But the Indian was not segregated until the Federal Government undertook the measure with force and decision.[2] Nor will the Negro be repatriated until the Federal Government turns itself seriously to the task.

In the later stages of repatriation a system of draft could be applied to timid youths who do not volunteer to aid in building a nation of their own people.

The Negro resides here among a people who have lately subjugated a continent and are seeking wider activities. *If the Negro is not of a mettle to redeem a wilderness, surely he is not a fit associate for that race which, within recent generations, has discovered and peopled the New World and extended race and civilizations to large and important portions of the Old World.*

1 From the brief of the Attorney-General of the United States in the case of *Hodges* vs. *U.S.*, 203 U.S. 14. Quoted in *The Negro Problem: Abraham Lincoln's Solution*, William F. Pickett, p. 87.

2 Read the exhaustive thesis upon Indian Consolidation, by Annie Heloise Abel, Ph.D., in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, Vol. 1, 1906.

America's foremost authority on tropical diseases tells us that the Anglo-Saxon may, if he wish, permanently inhabit the tropic.[3] The most remarkable revelations arising from the experiments at Panama and elsewhere in the torrid zone are those which have revealed that instead of the Caucasian being unable to display physical and mental energy in the tropics, he cannot live in health there without so doing. Heretofore the Caucasian dwelling in the tropics has relied upon the labor of backward races. In consequence, he has suffered atrophy of the organs, the activity of which is essential to health. Tropical diseases are not generally climatic diseases as such, but are usually those transmitted by bloodsucking insects. As the white man invades the tropics, cultivates the land and drains the stagnant pool, breeder of the mosquito, we may expect to see the jungle give place to permanent civilization.

The tropics are but awaiting the healing hand of the Caucasian. America is to make habitable the home of its repatriated blacks. This measure will not be left to the Negro and should not give the Negro's well wishers undue disturbance. Throughout Africa, the diseases of both blacks and whites have declined much in recent years. The suppression there of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors, the elimination of the bloodsucking insects, together with the growth of industries, will render Africa as habitable as America.

Ten times as many Negroes are living in Africa at the present time as in the United States. Under European control, their death rate is declining and their material and spiritual culture rising. May not our Negroes take place beside their brethren now there and share with the latter in the redemption of the continent from the jungle and savagery? Our Negroes will go to Africa fitted in every way to lead their race. They will take natural leadership in the bringing of the blessings of civilization to the Dark Continent.

The idea that the American Negro would be of signal aid in implanting civilization in Africa was ever before the American founders of Liberia. On the death of Clay, a memorial service was held in the State House at Springfield, Illinois, in which Lincoln was the principal speaker. In the course of his address, Lincoln, quoting from a speech of Clay, said: "There is a moral fitness in the idea of returning to Africa her children, whose ancestors have been torn from her by the ruthless hand of fraud and violence. Transplanted in a foreign land, they will carry back to their native soil the rich fruits of

[3] The late William C. Gorgas, Surgeon-General U.S. Army.

religion, civilization, law and liberty. May it not be one of the great designs of the Ruler of the universe, whose ways are often inscrutable to short-sighted mortals, thus to transform an original crime into a signal blessing to that most unfortunate portion of the globe?" Continuing his address, Lincoln said: "This suggestion of the possible ultimate redemption of the African race and African continent was made twenty-five years ago. Every succeeding year has added strength to the hope of its realization. May it indeed be realized." The Negroes need a black Moses to lead them to the land of promise. When such a leader arises, he will be the foremost individual in the annals of Negro history.

Our mixbreeds, transferred to Africa, could become a social aristocracy, such as the Fula of Nigeria, the Hima of Uganda, and the Zulu of the South— all of whom have Caucasian blood coursing through their veins, and all of whom are above the true Negro in culture. The mixbreed would be an ethnic and culture link connecting the Negro of Africa with the whites of Europe and America.

It should give the Caucasian hope and energy to realize that the only solution of the Negro problem that he is willing to promote is at the same time the only satisfactory solution for the black as well as for the white. *Repatriation will settle our Negro problem forever and will give the Negro a future.*

Many will say, "Repatriation is the only satisfactory solution of the problem, but Africa has been partitioned by the European powers, and though we wish to return our Negroes there, have we the possibility of doing so? Are we not cut off in this direction even as Lincoln was prevented from sending the Negroes to Latin America?" No, we are not cut off from the possibility of sending the Negroes to Africa, and no well-informed individual will affirm that there is insurmountable or even doubtful difficulty in the way. Africa is woefully underpopulated and there is an unlimited demand for labor to further the European development of the continent. The whole of Africa is subject to white nations.

There is much land expressly reserved for American Negro colonists in Liberia, which, in the opinion of a leading American authority (Dr. Starr of the University of Chicago), and of England's foremost authority upon the African Negro problem (Sir Harry Johnston), will support a population of twenty millions. We have seen that the Liberian Republic was founded by white Americans who returned freed slaves to Africa. Descendants of these ex-slaves and the natives over whom they

rule number but little more than two million. If we return our Negroes to Liberia and see to it that they are properly provided with means to support themselves, there will still be room in this American colony for some seven million souls.

We would not return our Negroes *en masse, but only those of breeding age,* and be as much as a generation in placing them in their new homes, making it possible by this slow process to fill up their gap in the United States and to provide them with the certainties of subsistence in Liberia.

Again, there is no necessity for confining our Negroes to the present limits of Liberia. We should widen, by purchase, that country's borders. If not this, we should acquire the Belgian Congo, which is the richest and most inviting portion of the world yet awaiting the light of civilization. If not the Belgian Congo—then Portuguese West Africa; or part of the French possessions; or German Togoland, or the Kamerun. These latter having passed from German hands as a result of the recent war, there is an added hope of their acquisition. We may rest well assured that England, with her present understanding of the Negro problem, her need of civilized labor in her vast African possessions, and, not least, her consciousness that she played the dominant role in fastening the Negro and Negro slavery upon her former American possessions, will do anything in her power to aid in returning them to Africa. With her sympathetic and practical aid there is not need to look further.

Economically, America is entering upon imperialism. Not only is there hope merely, but there is substantial prospect of our economic imperialism, as directed toward the second greatest continent, being realized in good measure if we follow up present advantage and widen the borders of Liberia or acquire additional territory elsewhere on the West Coast. Liberia offers the possibility of a splendid naval base, which may not only dominate the western coast of Africa but be within a comparatively short distance of South America.

Circumstance determined by the result of the World War placed the German African possessions in the hands of nations associated with the United States in that struggle (Great Britain and France). Let us not forget that the explorations of the past five decades have revealed Africa to be wonderfully rich in material resources and possessed of, in most places, good climatic conditions. A glance at the map of Africa will show the position of the German Cameroons with reference to the French Congo. These two, if obtained by the United States,

would afford ample room for our Negroes and would facilitate American exploitation throughout Central Africa. France is not only favorable to the United States, but is possessed of much land, having sovereignty over large portions of Africa. It is certain that the United States can make satisfactory arrangements with France for the acquirement of the French Congo. But the Belgian Congo is more valuable for economic development, the richest unexploited portion of the world. The Portuguese colony of Angora would be ample for our purpose, and this colony also might be acquired. It is not likely that ever again will there be such favorable opportunity for the United States to secure African territory. It is an opportunity which our statesmen cannot fail to see. The European nations lately associated with the United States in the World War own almost the total of Africa. Suffering more than the United States and sacrificing more, these nations, through necessity, have accumulated staggering national debts. They owe to the United States more than ten billion dollars exclusive of accumulated interest on this amount. A portion of this debt could be paid by the cession to the United States of African possessions, thus giving to the United States vast natural resources, providing a home for the Negro in which his wealth could be made a hundred fold greater than it is possible for him to accumulate in America, and relieving the nation, or nations, which sell the territory, of a great financial obligation.

But let us omit for the present the prospect of the United States acquiring additional territory in Africa. Liberia, or Liberia with its former borders, peopled by our Negroes, will mean the opening of the riches of Equatorial Africa to our trade in such measure as will not be possible otherwise. From Liberia, our influence, if not our control, will permeate far inland, extend the culture of civilization to the inhabitants, offer opportunity to Christianize the Mohammedan and savage peoples, and give great economic opportuniy.

Let our economic experts calculate the return from such a possible venture upon our part and they will tell you that in a predeterminable time this source of profit will defray the national expenditure incurred in repatriating the Negro. At home, as the whites take the place of the Negroes, the increase in productivity of the whites over the Negroes whom they have replaced will also, in a predeterminable time, meet the national outlay in settling the Negro problem in the only way it can be settled. If the various States, or the Federal Govern-

ment, should take up the Negro's holdings of land and buildings and sell these holdings to the highest bidder, their increased value based upon white, rather than Negro surroundings, will in great measure compensate for the expense of repatriating the Negro. *By repatriating the Negro, we shall, without question, increase our wealth both at home and abroad.*

We have sought to show the necessity, the value, and the possibility of repatriating the Negro. Let us assume that this is done, with its attendant effects upon the white race in the United States.

We will now consider more minutely the necessity and the value of repatriation to the Negro. This latter can best be done by briefly summarizing the historical attitude of the white man towards the black.

For the past ten thousand years the white race has been in contact with the Negro, first in restricted localities in Africa and Asia, then in an everwidening contact until at the present time the white man has actual or nominal control over every individual of the entire Negro race in both the Old and the New World. This contact has saved the Negro from a groveling, brute-like condition. It has given to the Negro all his possessions—the food that he eats, the clothes that he wears, the implements that he uses, the domesticated animals, fowls, and plants that he possesses, the knowledge that he has.

During these centuries of contact it is possible that not any portion of the white race has treated the Negro in a rational way. The Negro has profited by contact with the white man, but he has paid a great price of human agony. The white man has not treated the Negro as a human, but as a thing. A thing the existence of which is not justified save by its servitude to its white master. The Caucasian has never enslaved the Negro when slavery was not profitable, and has never freed the Negro while slavery was profitable. The whites who have freed their slaves have been those who ceased to profit by slavery.[4]

During the centuries of contact, the white man has looked upon the Negro either as a case of hardened degeneracy or he has gone wild in the other extreme of expecting the Negro to assume equal rank with the Caucasian. Both theories are wrong. Possibly equally so. To deny the Negro the right to develop according to natural laws is unjust; to expect him to develop as a Caucasian is a species of sentimental insanity.

[4] We saw in Chapter X that during the early decades of last century abolition theories were popular in the Southern States because slavery had become unprofitable. But abolition theories there were revoked when the cotton gin became effective.

The one overlooks that he is human, the other ignores that he is a race. He is human and should not be denied the right to work out his own salvation. He is a fully constituted race and, like other races, is possessed of ineradicable race instincts and tendencies, and may work out his salvation along race lines only. This understanding of the Negro and the Negro problem will be at the bottom of any rational dealing with the Negro and the problem he constitutes to civilization.

In the Ideal Negro State the Negro will develop as a Negro, in accord with his race instincts and capacities; but he may need white guidance in the first stages of his independence. Heretofore the white man has made the Negro work for the white man's advantage. In the Ideal Negro State, the white man, if there be need, may direct the Negro's work for the Negro's welfare. Heretofore the white man has received chief profit from the Negro's labor; under a rational system of developing the Negro the latter alone will profit from his toil.

Transplanted to Africa, the Negro, under the temporary tuition of the United States, will be able to work out his own destiny. Our knowledge of his history shows us that his future is to be as a Negro.

When we recognize that the Negro is to develop as a Negro, we are but accrediting to this race specialized human endowments. The Negro, in common with the white man, is human, but the white man is highly specialized in those endowments which express themselves in civilized culture, while on the other hand, the Negro's specialized endowments do not, in any high degree, express themselves in civilized culture as we define such.

It may not hinder the progress of the white man if he give the advantage of his superior attainments to the other races, if these latter dwell separate from the former, but the white man is not to make such contribution if by so doing his racial status or his cultural progress is endangered. The presence of numerous colored peoples within the white groups cannot but qualify, by restriction, white attainments, but the white man may well aid the colored in territories set apart for the colored. Let the white American repatriate the black, leaving the white to continue his progress at home and making politic his advancement of the black abroad.

A program of rational dealing with the Negro will consider that the present status of the Negro is not immutable. There are no breeds of man or brute but that may be improved by selective matings and by opportunity for initiative. With regard

to cultural initiative, the Negro suffers and is humiliated, by contrast with the Caucasian, in his every effort to take part in a white civilization. On every hand there are such evidences of his inferiority that the Negro ceases to aspire. The material and spiritual splendors of America are not the Negro's.

Though the white man be changed into a more helpful friend of the Negro, that race will still be, by consciousness of cultural inferiority, deprived of the initiative which is necessary for race advancement. What the Negro needs is an environment that will engender initiative, and such environment is impossible while he dwells with the Caucasian. The type of state which the Negro requires is the organized society of his peers. This state will make possible the encouragment of his every aspiration. It will free the Negro from hopeless competition with the Caucasian and from consciousness of racial inferiority. Let us not forever close the door of hope. Situate the Negro so that the attainment of his aspirations is possible according to his inherent ability, and you will have conferred upon him the greatest service. Add to this the white man's helpful influence and encouragement until the Negro nation has acquired strength, and if the Negro does not advance, you may not find fault with the Caucasian, but be left alone in the presence of Him "who with Eden, didst devise the snake."

The Ideal Negro State will be radically different from other Negro policies of the white man. The white man will encourage always, and, in some instances, may enforce beneficial measures upon the Negro; but the white man will divorce himself in fact as well as in theory from the economic and sexual spoilation of the black. The white power responsible for the Ideal Negro State will not directly or indirectly derive profit from the Negro State, save to defray necessary expenditure in control of the State, and through the channels of legitimate trade. The sovereign white power, in conjunction with the Negro government, will provide work for all, gifts for none. The dignity of labor is not fully apprehended by the white man—with the Negro dignity is incompatible with labor. Intelligence and toil have given world-supremacy to the Caucasian; all humanity, regardless of race, is conditioned to development by the same method.

If the Negro will not work, he could be made to work. To work, not for the white man's profit, but for his own welfare. The male Negro will be taught that the female properly has an economic function, but that such function does not include the sum total of economic effort. The position of the

Negro is due in large measure to his unwillingness to engage in sustained economic effort. His predilection for the shade is in some degree responsible for his lack of "a place in the sun." But in the Negro's development, though the white man, for a time, direct his toil, the white man is not to profit by the toil.[5]

The United States, in temporary control of the government of the repatriated Negro, will be possessed of executive as well as advisory status. The white sovereign power may enforce beneficial measures. Such soverign acts may not prove to be necessary. If not, then so much the better. The Negro will be encouraged to look after his health in such manner as will lower his high death rate. Though it violate all precedent, he will not delegate sanitation to the maggot, the fly, the jackal, and the hyena. As sovereign power, the United States, with its knowledge of the tropics and its great material advancement, will be in a position to promote the welfare of its repatriated blacks to such an extent that the Ideal Negro State, from the beginning, will be a compelling example to the native millions of Africa.

At first, there should be a white supervisor of education, and education should be confined to those lines which promote material well-being. Education would be compulsory and universal. The leaders, both white and black, would instruct the Negro that peace is prolific of national greatness, and the Negro be led to keep the peace. Justice dispensed should have proper regard for the weak. The Negro will be free to accept any religion, so long as his choice does not imperil the advancement of the State. Thus, under sane leaders, and universal education, there would be no danger of the Negro reverting to voodooism, as in Haiti.

The conditions inhering in the Ideal Negro State will serve to make the Negro a better Negro. There is no other way to give him a chance in the world at present. He is not fitted for cultural competition with the more creative Caucasian, his presence among the peoples of that race has invariably resulted in amalgamation of his race with the Caucasian, leaving a mongrel offspring unfitted to carry on the culture they received from their white ancestors. There has been no exception to long continued race contact ending in race amalgamation. We in America are still white, but countless centuries are before

[5] That the white man is not to profit by the labor of the black must be repeated again and again. If the Negro is removed from the United States to Africa, such repatriation will be effected by the Federal Government. Federal direction of repatriation would insure that the repatriated blacks will be protected from the avaricious Caucasian, whatever the nationality of the latter may chance to be.

us. It is civilization's imperative that the Negro be repatriated. It will be to the Negro's advantage to be aided by the white man in establishing his new home on a sure foundation. If the white man of America owes a debt to the Negro, he cannot repay it so well as by empowering the Negro to work out his own salvation in keeping with the instincts and capacities with which the Creator has endowed him.

CHAPTER XV

Program of Repatriation

The attainment of White America is not possible save by removing the Africans and excluding the Asiatics.

If the Asiatics of the Western States continue their rapid increase through their excessively high birth rates, it may be necessary to colonize the American Asiatics. The removal of the black man will not save us if we permit the yellow man to enter, nor will the exclusion of the yellow man save us if we permit the black man to remain. Those who favor the solution of one of the problems will be concerned in the solution of the other. These two great purposes go hand in hand, for any success in the meeting of one of the perils will have a reflex influence upon the meeting of the other. But it is the "black peril" rather than the "yellow peril," with which we are primarily concerned, and we will confine the program to those measures necessary to solve the Negro problem.

The program of repatriation should consist, in part, of temporary measures. In general, the temporary measures should insure the purity of the white race by prohibiting intermarriage between members of the white race and those of any other race; the suppression of race friction, by concerted action on the part of leaders of both races; the opportunity for the Negro to maintain himself economically, though this work a hardship upon the white man; the education of the Negro, with special regard for the requirements of his future home.

The temporary measures are preparatory merely. They will not solve the Negro problem. The nation cannot continue part European and part African. The future holds before us either a white America, with its concomitant progress, or a mongrel America, with its decay of culture. Amalgamation or separation is the only solvent of the Negro problem.

The white man at his best progresses but slowly—mixed with the blood of the Negro, his offspring is below the creative level. No people partly black are able to compete with a people wholly white. These deductions are drawn from six thousand years of history, and are not speculations based upon chosen theories.

Within this generation America is to decide whether the future American is to be wholly white or partly colored; whether Caucasian institutions based upon Caucasian man-

hood are to be perpetuated or whether African and Asiatic blood, one or both, are to eventually qualify Caucasian possibilities. There are now eleven million Negroes in the United States. Our children shall confront twenty million. The Negro has increased as fast as the white since we became a nation. His relatively low position in the percentage of population in 1920, as compared with his numerical proportion in the entire population in 1820, has been determined mainly by the arrival of white immigrants.

Though mongrel America be in the distant future, yet it is the height of race insanity to ignore it because *we* shall not witness its consummation. If *we* fail to make America white when such attainment is possible, and bequeath to our children the burden of the black when that burden has assumed such proportions that they shall find it impossible to save race and culture, we are unworthy of our ancestors and will be a curse to our posterity. If we pity the living Negro and scorn the unborn white our race is doomed. Our children have the right to demand of us that they be born white in a white man's land. To deny this right, to ignore this elemental call of blood, stamps us as ungrateful for the past and unmindful of the future. It cannot be that we are willing to debase our descendants to secure ease for ourselves! This consciousness furnishes a basis for hope. When the fond parent asks himself if he is willing to leave in our midst the present number of Negroes and their future increase as an intolerable burden upon his own flesh and blood, he is conscious of an unwillingness that this be done. The future of our race and civilization depends upon the strength of the unwillingness and the manner of its manifestation.

Already part of our original American stock, and too, that part which has contributed most to our material greatness (the colonial stock in New England), is failing to reproduce itself in excess of its death rate. Within the past fifty years the whites of the agricultural South only have increased faster than the Negro. With the coming of the industrial era in the South it remains to be determined whether this increase will be maintained. Outside of the Southern States, the low birth rate existing among descendants of the colonials, if considered in relation to the Southern increase, will reduce the total increase of the colonial American to a percentage not greater than that of the Negro. We are recruiting from foreign whites who, if they are of high race stock, soon adapt themselves to the family standard of the American homes.

We cannot look forward to immigration to maintain the white man's proportion above the black, for America will eventually become congested and immigration assume immaterial proportions.

The creative element in our civilization is essentially Nordic. Upon this element our future, if it partakes of glory rather than abasement, depends. This element, derived from the capable people of Northern and Western Europe, constitutes an overwhelming proportion of our white inhabitants. But it is just this element of our population which is heading straight to that reproductive condition to which France has fallen and to which England is drawing near. France barely retains her numerical status; England's increase is slow and is ever growing less.

The recent great war was made certain by the "race suicide" of France and England in contrast to the great increase of the Germans. During the Franco-Prussian War (1870) the Germans numbered but three millions more than the French; now they number thirty millions more. The increase of the Germans drove France into the arms of her hereditary enemy—England. The world has given due credit to the Germans for the brilliancy of their intellect and the genius shown in their organization. However, the real source of the German preponderance, both in peace and war, is the excess fecundity of the German women over those of France and Great Britain.

The problem of the lack of increase of the inhabitants of white nations is not within the province of this treatise, but we shall have to take stock of the low birth rate of white Americans and the falling off of Nordic immigration to the United States in order to form judgment as to the necessity of repatriating the Negro. If the American white homes reach the French standard, which they are ever tending to do, this alone will make imperative the repatriation of the American Negro.

The program of repatriation will need to be founded upon a knowledge of its necessity. A survey of our situation will give this knowledge. The survey will reveal the Negro as an alien race which will forever prevent the attainment of our destinies as a Caucasian nation. His presence alone, though we could remain uncontaminated by his influence and blood admixture, will defeat our aims; but it is impossible to dwell with his future millions and remain free from his influence and his blood. Such knowledge as this is the first essential in the program of repatriation. We must realize the necessity of repatriating the Negro. If we do not have consciousness that

repatriation is imperative, no effective steps will be taken to solve the problem which confronts us and neither our race nor its culture will survive. Believing that we shall continue to exclude the yellow race, we may definitely affirm that the increase of civilization or the decay of culture will result from the one way or the other that we solve the Negro problem. As we are not to exterminate the Negroes, we are to amalagamate our race with theirs or remove them to a separate location. Let us keep in mind Egypt, India, and a score of other analagous instances in which the white man has not survived contact with the colored, and civilization has not survived the white man.

We are, then, to secure knowledge of the history of the contact of the races and observe the results upon the white race of its long dwelling with the Negro. We are to apply this knowledge to our problem, and from such application determine measures that are necessary to enable us to escape the fate of other white peoples who have dwelt with the Negro.

Having knowledge of the past and of the present, we are then to devise some effective means of disseminating this knowledge. A few individuals may make available all the knowledge that is necessary—that is, the acquisition of the necessary knowledge may be the work of a few experts in ethnology taken in its widest sense. But how to get the majority, a constitutional majority, of white Americans to see and appreciate what the Negro problem has meant to the nation in the past, what it means at present, and still more, what it will mean in the future, is the difficulty before those who have given it sufficient attention to understand that delay makes solution difficult, and that too much delay will mean the impossibility of separating the races and will lead, ultimately, through the generations to come, to a negroid America.

There are many men and women, capable and well prepared to carry on an agitation for the removal of the Negro, basing their arguments upon self-evident necessity. Those thus constituted for leadership in the agitation which must precede repatriation should supplement their knowledge by searching the authentic records bearing upon the contact of races and observing the results upon civilization when it is in contact with colored races. This supplementary source of information is more important than that knowledge which is acquired from local or contemporary sources, for it furnishes a view of our race in contact with the Negro throughout many centuries, *and has the additional advantage of removing a vexed question out of the realm of sectionalism and prejudice.*

Students of the Negro problem who are to aid in disseminating information upon the problem should not be content with less than the best arguments and the most forceful illustrations. This, then, constitutes another reason for seeking information beyond that obtainable from the history of North America, for here our persistive color line and bountiful Caucasian immigration tend to obscure the ineradicable issues involved in the contact of the races. We have remained white for three centuries, while other communities, once white, in this period, have become mongrel.

The practical operation of the color line demarks the Caucasian and the non-Caucasian. It is in this sense only that we may be said to have remained white. The non-white are on the other side of the color line. The fact that one-fourth of the so-called Negro population in reality have Caucasian blood in their veins, should teach us that the function of the color line is to prolong merely, not to perpetuate, Caucasian purity. Our danger from miscegenation is a slow and ill-appreciated danger. It is insidious, and we are lulled to a false sense of security. The prepared student will be able to make it clear that miscegenation is to be eventually a universal fact, but, that during the centuries intervening until a majority of Americans have Negro blood in their veins, we are not to escape the stress of race conflict; *that turmoil will continue while amalgamation is in process.* Culturally, our civilization will be qualified both extensively and intensively by the Negro's presence, but cultural progress will not cease until the Negro and the mixbreed, by reason of their numerical preponderance, attain practical sovereignty of the nation.[6]

Let the reader of this and other volumes dealing with our impending decay realize that it is the duty of every individual to do his share to avert the danger. Do not shift responsibility to others' shoulders. Agitate this question. Organize societies whose purpose it is to study the Negro problem in the light of history. Urge the necessity for action in public, in private, and in print. We are not fighting a war of extermination. Our solution of the problem will better the position of the Negro as well as make possible the continuation of the culture of the white.

The future is before us. We are bequeathing to posterity an ever increasing burden whose devitalizing influence will reach the source of progress and beneath which our civilization will

[6] In order to illustrate the subsidence of civilized culture as result of, and in direct proportion to the rise of mixbreeds to sovereignty, read *Latin America,* by F. Garcia Calderon.

not survive. Others have fought for a desire; we fight for a necessity. Others have sought to promote our civilization; we seek to make its continuation possible. If we do not make America white, we shall have proven false to race and institutions.

We have received a white heritage from our ancestors—shall we bequeath our posterity less? For countless centuries our race has been dominant among the peoples of the world—shall our children be counted among the mongrels? The white race nor its culture has ever survived prolonged contact with a colored race—shall America repeat, or shall America reverse history? We of this generation are to determine whether the American of the future is to be wholly white or partly black. The Negro problem is to be settled by the separation of the races or by the amalgamation of the races. There is no doubt as to the nation's ability to repatriate the Negro. Repatriation is possible! It is necessary! If we do not repatriate the Negro, our race will become negroid and our culture will decay. If we do repatriate the Negro, our civilization is to increase, and our future belongs to God.

Appendix

Joint Council for Repatriation

A Bi-Racial Coalition United for Justice for Persons of African Descent

DEDICATED TO THE IDEALS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Our Program: 1. To inform colored persons of the existence of the JCR — a vital, aggressive movement dedicated to the genuine interests of the American-born African.

2. To educate White persons to the true aims and aspirations of the Negro, and to so lessen racial friction.

3. To seek to destroy the evil influence of radical, trouble-making, race-mixing, Communist-front organizations which masquerade as being for the benefit of the Negro, but which actually deliberately cause strife.

4. To induce the U. S. Congress to pass legislation making African Repatriation a reality.

5. To finance Repatriation and to provide liberal grants for Repatriates by curtailing foreign aid and needless military expenditures.

6. To provide for the peaceful, rapid movement of Africans back to their motherland, Africa.

Board (Incomplete List)

Afro Section — S. A. Davis, Chairman; Rev. Dr. Bryant, Earl Carter, Sylvester Carter, Thomas Ellis, Rev. Dr. Lawson, Lewis H. Michaux, Ben Stanley.

White Section — E. L. Anderson, Chairman; Harold E. Cabot, Frank Meyers.

Now is the time for Afros to cast off the chains of slavery to the White Man! Too long have we been choked by the trickery and sweet words of false leaders who prolong our agony!

It Is Time to Pass the Freedom Law! This provides incentive for both Black and White. Afros who go Home to Africa will receive *one thousand dollars per year* in food, clothes, hardware, etc., to enable them to construct a Mighty Black Civilization on the African Continent. Whites will be rid of their greatest problem — the Race Problem.

Who Could Be Against This? Who would deny Afros the right to create their own civilization? Who would deny them the dignity and honor of being Truly Free, as God intended? Who would deny the justice and righteousness of paying com-

pensation to Afros for three hundred years of bondage, humiliation and degradation?

Who Will Fight the Freedom Law? I will tell you. Political demagogs, horrified at the thought of losing Black voters to Africa. Trouble-making leaders who see in continued race friction a chance to become important. White racists who will have no more Blacks to hate and lynch. Bloodsuckers, bankers and shylocks who will lose Black labor to exploit and Black borrowers to squeeze. Dope-pushers, numbers racketeers, pimps and whiskey kings who peddle their filth to a despairing people held in chains. Zionists who will lose political control of America when they lose control of Uncle Tom. Skinflints who will squeal at spending a few dollars on Afro-Americans but who demand that billions be thrown away on Anti-American foreigners. Communists who agitate riots and bloodshed, planning to pick up the pieces after Black and White kill each other off.

These are the troublemaking rabble who are against the FREEDOM LAW. *Watch them!* In the fight now beginning to force the White Man's Congress to pass the Freedom Law, Blacks will learn who their friends and enemies really are. The above gang of snivelling parasites and wicked workers for Satan will not be able to explain why they hate the Freedom Law.

Enclosed is a copy of the Freedom Law. *Send it to your congressman.* Urge him to introduce it and support it and fight for it. IF HE WILL NOT SUPPORT THE FREEDOM LAW, DEMAND TO KNOW WHY. SPREAD THE NEWS ABOUT THE FREEDOM LAW FAR AND WIDE.

S. A. Davis
Biblical Analyst

P. S. You can help the work of the JOINT COUNCIL FOR REPATRIATION by sending a contribution, or writing of your moral support. Either way, your name will go on mail list.

A BILL TO PROVIDE FOR THE VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION OF NEGROES TO THEIR AFRICAN HOMELAND

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

Section 1. It is declared to be the policy of the Congress —

(a) To avoid further racial friction and the prospect of unimaginable bloodshed in the United States.

(b) To allow both Negroes and Whites the sacred right of self-development, equally free from alien influence.

(c) To provide for the expeditous transportation and reset-

tlement of American-born Negroes in their ancestral motherland of Africa.

(d) To proved adequate economic aid for Repatriate pioneers and migrants by establishment of a distribution system of American surplus manufactured and food goods.

(e) To use American products, services, transportation and labor exclusively in the carrying out of the provisions of this Act, except when reliance upon same would delay the attainment of the purposes of this Act.

Section 2. This Act shall be known as the Freedom Law.

Section 3. All American citizens of 18 years age or more, and being one-eighth or more of pure Negro descent by race are declared eligible to attain the status of Repatriate.

Section 4. All eligible citizens desiring to attain the status of Repatriate shall fill out and sign an application form giving the following information:

(a) Name, address, telephone number, social security number, marital status and dependents.

(b) Affirmation of irrevocable intention to attain the status of Repatriate and emigrate to Africa under the terms of the Freedom Law.

(c) Two photographic likenesses of passport-size.

(d) List of all personal property the Repatriate desires to have transported to Africa. Such personal property must be free of lien.

(e) List of all real property and encumbrances thereon.

(f) Estimated value at market price of real property.

Section 5. The President shall cause to be created a Repatriation Commission (hereinafter referred to as "the Commission") and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint a chief whose term of office shall be for two years and who shall receive the compensation of $30,000 per annum. The chief shall employ such assistants as may be required to expeditiously carry out the purposes of the Freedom Law. The Commission shall:

(a) Prepare suitable application forms and distribute them to every postoffice in sufficient quantities, and assist applicants in the completion of these forms.

(b) Establish an Approval Board with as many local units as necessary for expeditious handling and approval and rejection of applicants. No decision on an applicant shall be delayed more than 30 days from the date of filing of an application.

(c) Prepare suitable areas in Africa to receive Repatriates. Repatriates may construct or otherwise acquire their own

dwellings or temporary housing may be erected by the Commission to be occupied by Repatriates at minimum rent. The President is hereby authorized and directed to enter into negotiations with African nations to receive Repatriates from the United States. Resettlement areas may be acquired by purchase or negotiation, if necessary, in which case title to the areas will be given to a stock corporation and the stock sold to Repatriates.

(d) Arrange for transportation of Repatriates, dependents and personal property at government expense from any point in the United States to the resettlement area.

(e) Declare each Repatriate Resettled upon termination of transportation and settlement in a dwelling. The Date of Resettlement shall be marked in an identification and receipt book provided by the Commission.

(f) Pay each applicant the sum of $100 in cash upon approval of application by Approval Board. This sum is an advance on certificate payments to follow after Resettlement. It is to be repaid by twenty monthly deductions of $5 each for the first twenty months, payable in certificates of that amount. Acceptance of the advance constitutes confirmation of the status of Repatriate.

(g) Purchase all real property at the prevailing market value, plus ten percentum, with payment made in certificates on the Date of Resettlement.

(h) Assure speedy repatriation of all Repatriates. The initial movement of every Repatriate shall be commenced within one year from date of confirmation of status of Repatriate as defined in para. (f), above, but no sooner than thirty days from that date.

(i) Establish subsidiary offices in Africa for the expeditious settling of Repatriates, the establishment of wholesale and retail stores and payment depots for issuance of certificates.

(j) Sell products through its offices at wholesale and retail prices for certificates at the same price in certificates as that prevailing in dollars within the continental limits of the United States, plus freight, but said retail outlets shall not compete with stores established by Repatriates by underselling products; nor shall the Commission hinder or restrict the free establishment of businesses to serve the purposes of the Freedom Act nor establish enterprises in competition with private enterprise.

(k) Make necessary arrangements to issue Dollar Certificates (in this Act referred to as "certificates") which are to be

redeemable within one year after date of issue in American-manufactured and produced goods and foodstuffs as procured according to paragraph (l), below, and which are valid only in Resettlement Areas of Africa.

(l) Make necessary arrangements with the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem said certificates in dollars for the purchase of American products for Repatriates.

(m) Issue to every Repatriate the sum of $1000 in certificates per year in equal or nearly-equal monthly installments for the balance of the life of the Repatriate. Payment is to be made upon monthly application by the Repatriate on or after his or her Date of Resettlement as defined in para. (e), above. Certificates will be dated the Date of Resettlement and it shall be noted thereon that the expiration date is one year in advance. Payment shall begin immediately upon resettlement. If the Date of Resettlement in any month falls on a Sunday, the previous Saturday will be the date of issue for that calendar month; and if there is no date in any calendar month which corresponds to the Date of Resettlement then the last day of that month shall be the day of issue of certificates.

(n) Resettle Negro waifs and orphans in orphanages in Africa until said children reach the age of 18 years of age, at which time they shall assume the status of Repatriate and shall receive the sum of $1000 in certificates each year for the balance of their lives.

Section 6. For the purposes of this Act authorities of the United States shall not require Repatriates to hold passports.

Section 7. For the purposes of this Act there is hereby authorized and appropriated the sum of seven hundred fifty million dollars for the current fiscal year.

Section 8. This Act shall take effect immediately upon its enactment, and the authority conferred by it shall expire twenty years after its date of enactment, except where otherwise stated.

(End of text of FREEDOM LAW)

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White America

America's and the world's greatest problem is that of race. There is nothing unique about this because the problems created by racial contact are as old as humanity; indeed, some would say, as old as life itself. Most persons are convinced that the problem is insoluble or, if soluble, in some never-defined, mystical fashion.

Actually, the problem in America **is** unique in one way. Not in the nature of the problem itself but in its potential for solution. This has never been true in any civilization which has gone before. Today, thanks to the development of Western science and knowledge of history, the problem can be comprehended in its full significance. What is that significance?

A race problem is never a legal, economic, religious or even a social problem so much as it is a biological and a political problem.

Few writers on race care to recognize this truth and until just recently few readers could learn enough about it to resent the incredible prevarications and ignorance-mongering of supposedly reliable authorities.

The republication of Earnest Sevier Cox's **White America** after more than forty years is not only testimony to the greater attention that responsible and thinking people are giving to the world's greatest problem but also validation of the author's original contentions and approach.

White America has been a rare and unobtainable book. Now, in this **Noontide Press** Classics Series edition, it is destined to be a popular and influential one.

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